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Preparing for Publication,  
*To form Vols. XX. & XXI.*  
OF  
CONSTABLE'S MISCELLANY.

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ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE HISTORY  
OF GREAT BRITAIN.

BEING  
AN HISTORICAL VIEW

OF THE MANNERS AND CUSTOMS, DRESSES, ARTS, LITERATURE,  
COMMERCE, AND GOVERNMENT OF GREAT BRITAIN, FROM  
THE TIME OF THE SAXONS, DOWN TO THE EIGHTEENTH CEN-  
TURY.

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BY RICHARD THOMSON,

AUTHOR OF "CHRONICLES OF LONDON BRIDGE," "TALES OF  
AN ANTIQUARY," &c.

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*(9th February and 1st March.)*

\* \* \* THE LIFE OF BURNS will certainly appear, without  
further postponement, on the 12th April. The Publishers  
beg to apologize to the Public for the unavoidable delay  
which has occurred.



SCHILLER'S  
"THIRTY YEARS' WAR."

VOL. II.



**CONSTABLE'S MISCELLANY**  
OF  
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IN THE VARIOUS DEPARTMENTS  
— OF —  
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**VOL. XIX.**

**SCHILLER'S "THIRTY YEARS' WAR" VOL. II.**



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**1828.**





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THE  
HISTORICAL WORKS  
OF  
FREDERICK SCHILLER.

FROM THE GERMAN,  
BY GEORGE MOIR, Esq.  
TRANSLATOR OF "WALLENSTEIN."

VOL. II.

THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR. II.  
TRIAL OF COUNTS EGMONT AND HORN.  
THE SIEGE OF ANTWERP.

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# HISTORY

## OF THE

### THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

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#### BOOK III.

THE glorious victory of Gustavus Adolphus at Leipzig, had effected a great change in the conduct of that monarch, as well as in the opinion entertained of him both by his friends and foes. He had confronted himself with the most consummate general of his time, had tried the strength of his tactics, and the courage of his Swedes, against the Imperial army, consisting of the most experienced troops in Europe, and had been successful in the trial. From this moment he felt that firm confidence in his own powers, which has always been the parent of great actions. In all his future operations, a bolder and more decided course of policy was observable; greater resolution, even under the most unfavourable circumstances, a more lofty tone towards his adversaries, more dignity in

his bearing towards his allies, and even in his clemency, something of the condescension of a conqueror. His natural courage was still farther heightened by the influence of his enthusiastic imagination. He readily confounded his own cause with that of heaven, and beheld, in the defeat of Tilly, the decisive interference of Providence against his enemies, which he regarded himself as the instrument of the Divine vengeance. Leaving his kingdom and his country far behind him, he now pressed forward on the wings of victory into the heart of Germany, which for centuries had seen no foreign enemy within its bosom. The warlike disposition of its inhabitants, the vigilance of its numerous princes, the artful connection of its states, the number of its fortresses, the course of its broad and numerous rivers, had from time immemorial restrained within bounds the ambition of its neighbours; and frequently as the frontier of this extensive confederation had been attacked, its interior had hitherto been safe from any hostile invasion. Hitherto the Empire had enjoyed the questionable privilege of being its own enemy, and of being secure against any foreign force. Even now, it was merely the want of unity among its members and the intolerance of religious zeal, that paved the way for the Swedish invader. The bond of connexion between the States, which alone rendered the Empire invincible, was now dissolved; and Gustavus derived from Germany itself the means of subjecting it. He availed himself, with equal courage and prudence, of the favourable moment; and equally at home in the Cabinet and the field, he tore asunder the web of the Emperor's artful policy, with as much ease, as he

shattered his walls with the thunder of his cannon. He pursued his conquests without interruption from one side of Germany to the other, yet without losing for a moment the means of effecting a secure retreat; and whether on the banks of the Rhine, or the mouth of the Lech, equally maintaining his communication with his hereditary dominions.

The consternation of the Emperor and of the Catholic League, at the defeat of Tilly at Leipzig, could scarcely exceed the surprise and embarrassment of the Swedish allies at the King's unexpected success; which had exceeded alike their expectations, and their wishes. The formidable army which had impeded his progress, set bounds to his ambition, and rendered him in some measure dependent on themselves, was at once annihilated. Without a rival, or an opponent who could make head against him, he had now gained a firm footing in the heart of Germany; nothing could oppose his progress, or bound his encroachments, if, in the intoxication of success, he should be inclined to abuse his victory. If they had formerly dreaded the preponderance of the Emperor, there was now equal reason for apprehending the destruction of the constitution of the Empire by a foreign invader, and the ruin of the Catholic Church in Germany by the religious zeal of a Protestant monarch. The distrust and jealousy of some of the combined powers, which had for a time been set at rest by the stronger feeling of dread of the Emperor, was now rekindled; and scarcely had Gustavus Adolphus justified the confidence reposed on him by his courage and success, when they began to oppose every obstacle to his plans.

His conquests must now be made in opposition to the artful policy of his enemies, and the mistrust of his own allies ; yet, his resolution, penetration and prudence, overcame all impediments. While the success of his arms excited the jealousy of his more powerful allies, France and Saxony, it raised the courage of the weaker, and emboldened them openly to declare their sentiments and join his party. These States, who were neither disposed to contend with Gustavus Adolphus in importance, nor likely to suffer from his ambition, had the more to expect from the magnanimity of their powerful ally, who enriched them with the spoils of the enemy, and protected them against the oppression of their more powerful neighbours. His strength concealed their weakness, and, inconsiderable in themselves, they derived importance from their union with the hero of Sweden. This was the case with most of the free cities, and particularly with the inferior protestant towns. It was by means of these that the King was introduced into the heart of Germany ; by these his rear was covered, his armies supplied with necessities, his troops received into their fortresses, while their lives were exposed in his battles. His prudent regard to their national pride, his amiable deportment, some signal acts of justice, and his respect for the laws, were so many ties by which he attached to him the German Protestants ; while the atrocious barbarities of the Imperialists, the Spaniards, and the troops of Lorraine powerfully contributed to place in a favourable light his own conduct and that of his army.

If Gustavus Adolphus was principally indebted for his success to his own genius, it must not at



the same time be disguised, that he was greatly favoured by fortune, and by circumstances. He had two great advantages on his side that gave him a decided superiority over the enemy. While he carried the scene of war into the territories of the League, recruited his armies with their inhabitants, enriched himself with booty, and used the revenues of their fugitive princes as his own, he was at once depriving the enemy of the means of effectual resistance, and maintaining an expensive war with little cost to himself. And while his opponents, the princes of the League, divided by distinct, and often by contradictory interests, acted without unity, and consequently without energy; while their generals wanted authority, their troops were deficient in obedience, their scattered armies destitute of all concert and connection; while the leader was separated from the sovereign and the statesman; both were united in Gustavus Adolphus, the source from which all authority was derived, the object to which alone the eye of the warrior was directed; the animating soul of his party, at once the inventor and the executor of his plans. In him, therefore, the Protestant party possessed a principle of unity and harmony in which the Catholics were entirely deficient. No wonder then, that, favoured by such advantages, placed at the head of such an army, endowed with such a genius to use it, and guided by such policy and prudence, Gustavus Adolphus was irresistible.

With the sword in one hand, and mercy in the other, he traversed Germany as a conqueror, a lawgiver, and a judge, almost with as much rapidity as another could have done on a journey

of pleasure, while the keys of towns and fortresses were delivered to him by the inhabitants as to their native sovereign. No fortress seemed impregnable, no river interrupted his victorious career; he conquered by the very terror of his name. The Swedish standards were seen flying along the whole course of the Maine: the Lower Palatinate was free, the Spaniards and the troops of Lorraine had fled across the Rhine and the Moselle. The Swedes and Hessians poured like a torrent into the territories of Mentz, of Wurtzburg, and Bamberg, and three fugitive bishops, at a distance from their sees, paid dearly for their attachment to the Emperor. Maximilian, the leader of the League, was at last destined to feel with his own territories, the miseries he had inflicted upon others. Neither the fate of his confederates, nor the favourable offer of Gustavus, who in the midst of his career of conquest was ever willing to make offer of peace, could overcome the obstinacy of this prince. With the fall of Tilly, who had hitherto protected these territories like a guardian angel, the torrent of war poured into Bavaria. The banks of the Lech, like those of the Rhine, were crowded with Swedish troops; while the defeated Elector, trembling in his fortresses, abandoned to the foe those dominions which had hitherto escaped the devastation of war, and in which the violence formerly practised by the bigotted Bavarians seemed to invite retaliation. Munich itself opened its gates to the invincible monarch, and the fugitive Elector Frederick V., was enabled for a time to console himself, in the forsaken residence of his rival, for the loss of his dominions.

While Gustavus Adolphus was pursuing his conquests in the south, and driving the enemy with irresistible impetuosity before him, his generals and allies were not less successful in the other provinces. Lower Saxony shook off the Imperial yoke; Mecklenburg was abandoned by the enemy, and the Austrian garrisons driven from the banks of the Weser and the Elbe. In Westphalia and the Upper Rhine, William Landgrave of Hesse, rendered himself formidable; the Duke of Weimar in Thuringia, and the French in the Electorate of Treves; while to the eastward the whole kingdom of Bohemia was conquered by the Swedes. The Turks were already preparing for an attack on Hungary, and a dangerous insurrection was on the point of breaking out in the heart of Austria. In vain did the Emperor look around to the courts of Europe in the hope of strengthening himself by foreign support; in vain did he summon the Spaniards to his assistance, to whom the bravery of the Flemings afforded ample employment beyond the Rhine; in vain did he endeavour to engage in his cause the Roman court, and the Catholic church. The offended Pope sported with the embarrassment of Ferdinand by pompous processions and idle anathemas, and instead of the expected supplies from Italy, he was reminded of the devastation of Mantua.

On all sides of his extensive territories he was now surrounded by hostile weapons. With the States of the League, now overrun by the enemy, those ramparts were gone behind which the power of Austria had so long stood secure, and the flame of war was fast approaching her unguarded frontiers. His most zealous allies were disarmed;

Maximilian of Bavaria, formerly his most efficient support, now scarce capable of defending himself: The Imperial armies, weakened by desertion and repeated defeat, and discouraged by a long series of misfortunes, had lost, under the conduct of unsuccessful generals, that warlike confidence which is at once the consequence and the cause of victory. The danger was at its height, and extraordinary means alone could extricate him from the abasement into which he had fallen.

The greatest want was that of a General; and the only one from whose exertions he had reason to anticipate the revival of his former success, had been removed, by an envious cabal, from the command of the army. So low had the Emperor now fallen, that he was glad to enter into a humiliating proposal to his injured subject and servant, and meanly to restore to the imperious Friedland the power of which he had been as shamefully deprived. A new spirit then began to animate the expiring body of Austria; and the sudden change of affairs showed the firmness of the hand which guided them. The absolute King of Sweden was now opposed to a general equally absolute; a victorious hero to one not less successful. Both armies were now to renew the struggle; and victory, already almost in the hands of Gustavus Adolphus, was to be exposed to another and a severer trial. The storm of war gathered around Nuremberg; before its walls the hostile armies encamped; gazing on each other with breathless anxiety, longing for, and yet trembling at the moment that was to blend them together in the shock of conflict. The eyes of Europe were directed to this scene of contest with curiosity and fear,

while Nuremberg, filled with deep anxiety, expected to give name to a more decisive battle than that of Leipzig. At once the clouds broke up, and the storm rolled on towards Franconia, to burst upon the plains of Saxony. Near Lutzen fell the thunder that had menaced Nuremberg; the victory, half lost, was purchased by the death of a King. Fortune, which had never forsaken him in his lifetime, favoured the King of Sweden even in his death, with the privilege of falling in the fulness of his glory, and the unsullied purity of his fame. By a timely death his protecting Angel saved him from the unavoidable fate of man; that of forgetting moderation in the intoxication of success, and justice in the plenitude of power. We may be permitted to doubt, if with a longer life he would so well have merited the tears which Germany shed above his grave, or the admiration with which posterity have regarded the first and only just Conqueror. With the fall of their great leader, it is true there was reason to apprehend the ruin of his party; but to that Power which governs the world, the loss of no single man can be irreparable. Two great statesmen, Oxenstiern in Germany, and Richelieu in France, took the guidance of the helm of war as it dropped from his hand; destiny pursued its relentless course over his tomb, and the flame of war blazed for 16 years longer above the ashes of the departed hero.

I may be permitted shortly to follow the victorious march of Gustavus Adolphus; rapidly to review the scenes in which he alone is the great actor, and then, when Austria, reduced to extremity by the successes of the Swedes, and by a series of disasters, is constrained to have recourse to

the most humiliating and desperate expedients, to lead back the thread of the narrative to the Emperor.

No sooner was the plan of operations concerted at Halle, between the King of Sweden and the Elector of Saxony, by which the attack on Bohemia was intrusted to the latter, and that of the territories of the League to Gustavus Adolphus; —no sooner had the alliance been concluded with the neighbouring princes of Weimar and Anhalt, and preparations made for the recovery of the bishopric of Magdeburg, than the King began his march into the empire. He had still to contend with no despicable foe. The Emperor was still powerful within the empire, while Imperial garrisons were scattered over the whole of Franconia, Swabia, and the Palatinate, from whose hands every place of importance must be wrested sword in hand. On the Rhine he was opposed by the Spaniards, who had overrun the whole territory of the banished Palatine, possessed themselves of all his strong places, and would dispute with him every passage over that river. In his rear was Tilly, who was already fast recruiting his strength, and was soon to be joined by the auxiliaries from Lorraine. In the breast of every Catholic he was opposed by the inveterate spirit of religious hatred, while his connexion with France did not leave him at liberty to act with freedom against the Catholics. All these obstacles Gustavus had foreseen, but he foresaw at the same time how they were to be overcome. The strength of the Imperialists lay scattered in different garrisons, while he himself had the advantage of attacking them with his united force. If opposed by the fanaticism of the

Roman Catholics, and the dread which the lesser states entertained of the Emperor, he had every thing to hope from the active support of the Protestants, and their hatred to Austrian oppression. The excesses of the Imperialists, and of the Spanish troops, had powerfully aided him in these quarters; where the injured husbandman and citizen had long awaited a deliverer, and where the mere change of the yoke seemed to be regarded as a diminution of the burden. Emissaries had been already despatched to gain over to the Swedish side the more powerful free cities, particularly Nuremberg and Frankfort. Erfurt was the first town which lay in the King's way, and which he could not leave unoccupied in his rear. A successful negotiation with the Protestant part of the citizens opened to him, without a blow, the gates of the town and the citadel. Here, as in every important place which afterwards fell into his hands, he exacted an oath of allegiance from the inhabitants, while he secured its possession by a sufficient garrison. To his ally, Duke William of Weimar, he intrusted the command of an army to be raised in Thuringia. He also left his Queen in Erfurt, and promised to increase its privileges. The Swedish army now crossed the Thuringian Forest in two columns, by Gotha and Cronstadt, wresting the country of Henneberg from the hands of the Imperialists in its march, and forming a junction on the third day near Koenigshofen, on the frontiers of Franconia.

Francis Bishop of Wurtzburg, the most virulent enemy of the Protestants, and the most zealous member of the Catholic League, was the first who felt the indignation of Gustavus Adolphus. A few



threats were sufficient to put the Swedes in possession of his fortress of Koenigshofen, and with it the key of the whole province. Consternation seized all the Catholic towns of the Circle at the news of this rapid conquest. The Bishops of Wurtzburg and Bamberg trembled in their residences ; they already saw their Sees tottering, their churches profaned, their religion in the dust. The malice of his enemies had circulated the most frightful representations of the persecuting spirit of the Swedes, and their mode of conducting the war ; the effect of which neither the repeated assurances of the King, nor the most brilliant examples of humanity and toleration, were able entirely to efface. The people feared to receive at the hands of another the treatment which in similar circumstances they had been accustomed to inflict. Many of the richest Catholics fled to secure their property, their religion, and their persons from the sanguinary fanaticism of the Swedes. The Bishop himself set the example to his subjects. In the midst of the confusion, which his bigotted zeal had caused, he abandoned his dominions, and fled to Paris, to excite if possible the French ministry against the common enemy of their religion.

The progress which Gustavus Adolphus in the mean time continued to make in the Ecclesiastical territories, was suited to this brilliant commencement. Schweinfurt, and soon afterwards Wurtzburg, abandoned by their Imperial garrisons, surrendered to him ; Marienberg he was obliged to carry by storm. In this place, which was supposed to be impregnable, the enemy had collected a large store of provisions and ammunition, all of



which fell into the hands of the Swedes. The King found a valuable prize in the library of the Jesuits, which he caused to be transported to Upsal, while his soldiers found a still more agreeable one in the well filled wine-cellar of the Prelate ; his treasures the Bishop had taken the precaution to remove before. The whole bishoprick followed the example of the capital, and submitted to the Swedes. The King compelled the subjects of the Bishop to swear allegiance to him, and, in the absence of the legitimate sovereign, formed a regency, one half of which was composed of Protestants. In every Catholic town of which Gustavus Adolphus made himself master, he opened the churches to the Protestant people, but without retaliating on the Catholics the oppression they had exercised towards their Protestant brethren. In one only which forcibly opposed him were the rights of war enforced ; and for the occasional acts of violence committed by lawless individuals in the blind rage of their first attack, their humane leader is not justly answerable. Those who were peaceably disposed or defenceless, were treated with mildness. It was a sacred principle of Gustavus to spare the blood of his enemies, as well as that of his own troops.

On the first news of the Swedish irruption, the Bishop of Wurtzburg, disregarding the treaty, which, in order to gain time, he had entered into with the King of Sweden, had earnestly pressed the general of the League to hasten to the assistance of the bishoprick. That defeated commander had, in the mean time, been collecting the wreck of his army on the Weser, reinforcing himself by the garrisons

of Lower Saxony, and effecting a junction in Hesse with Altringer and Fugger, who commanded under him. Again at the head of a considerable force, Count Tilly burned with impatience to efface the disgrace of his first defeat by a brilliant victory. In his camp at Fulda to which he had marched with his army, he used every exertion to obtain permission from the Duke of Bavaria to give battle to Gustavus Adolphus. But the League had no second army to lose in the event of Tilly's defeat, and Maximilian was far too cautious to risk the fate of his party on the fortune of another battle. With tears in his eyes did Tilly receive the commands of his superior, which compelled him to remain inactive. Thus his march towards Franconia was delayed, till Gustavus Adolphus had time to overrun the whole bishopric. It was in vain that Tilly, reinforced at Aschaffenburg by a farther addition of 12,000 troops from Lorraine, marched with an overwhelming force to the relief of Wurtzburg. The town and citadel was already in the hands of the Swedes, and Maximilian of Bavaria was generally blamed (perhaps not undeservedly) for having occasioned the ruin of the bishopric by his scruples. Compelled to avoid a battle, Tilly contented himself with checking the farther advance of the enemy; but few of the towns could be saved from the impetuosity of the Swedes. After an ineffectual attempt to throw a reinforcement into Hanau, which was but weakly garrisoned, and the possession of which was of the utmost importance to the Swedes, he crossed the Main, near Seligenstadt, and took the direction of the Bergstrasse, to protect the Palatinate against the attack of the King.

Count Tilly was not the sole enemy whom Gustavus Adolphus met and drove before him in Franconia. Charles Duke of Lorraine, celebrated in the annals of the time for the unsteadiness of his character, his vain projects, and his misfortunes, had ventured to raise his weak arm against the Swedish hero, in the view of obtaining from the Emperor Ferdinand the Electoral dignity. Deaf to the suggestions of prudence, he listened only to the dictates of a restless ambition; exasperated France, his formidable neighbour, against him by supporting the Emperor; and in the pursuit of a visionary phantom in another country, stripped his dominions of the means of defence, which were instantly overrun by a French army. Austria readily yielded to him, as she had done to others, the honour of ruining himself in her cause. Intoxicated with vain hopes, this Prince collected an army of 17,000 men, which he proposed to lead in person against the Swedes. If these troops were deficient in discipline and courage, they could at least boast of a splendid equipment; and in proportion as they were sparing of their prowess against the enemy, they were liberal in displaying it against the defenceless citizens and peasantry, for whose defence they were summoned. This splendidly attired army, however, made but a poor stand against the bravery and the formidable discipline of the Swedes. A panic terror seized them on the advance of the Swedish cavalry, and they were expelled without difficulty from their cantonments in Wurtzburg; the defeat of a few regiments occasioned a general rout, while the scattered remnant fled to seek refuge from the effects of the Swedish valour in the towns beyond the Rhine.

Disgraced, and ridiculed throughout Germany, their leader hurried home by Strasburg, too fortunate in escaping, by a submissive written apology, the indignation of his conqueror, who had first beaten him out of the field, and then called upon him to justify his conduct. A peasant, it is said, in a village on the Rhine, ventured to strike the horse of the Duke as he rode past, exclaiming, "Haste, Sir, you must make more speed in order to escape the great King of Sweden!"

The unfortunate example of his neighbours had inspired the Bishop of Bamberg with more prudent resolutions. To prevent his territories from being plundered he made proposals of peace to the King, though these were intended only to delay his course, till assistance should arrive. Gustavus Adolphus, too honourable himself to suspect artifice in another, readily accepted the Bishop's offer, and named the conditions on which he was willing to save his territories from hostile treatment. He was the more inclined to accede to these proposals, as he had no time to lose in the conquest of Bamberg, and his other plans called him towards the Rhine. The rapidity with which he pursued these plans deprived him of those supplies which, by a longer residence in Franconia, he might easily have extorted from the weak and terrified Bishop: for this artful prelate put an end to the negotiation the instant the storm of war was withdrawn from his own territories. No sooner had Gustavus Adolphus retreated, than he threw himself under the protection of Tilly, and received the troops of the Emperor into the very towns and fortresses which he had previously declared himself ready to open to the Swedes. But this strata-

gem served only to delay for a very short time the ruin of his bishopric. A Swedish general who had been left in Franconia, undertook to chastise the Bishop for this act of perfidy ; and the Ecclesiastical territory, converted into the seat of war, was ravaged alike by friends and enemies.

The flight of the Imperialists, whose formidable presence had hitherto been a check upon the Franconian States, and the humane conduct of the King, emboldened the nobility as well as the inhabitants of this Circle to declare in his favour. Nuremberg solemnly committed itself to his protection ; the Franconian nobles were gained over by flattering proclamations, in which he condescended to apologize for his hostile appearance in their territories. The fertility of Franconia and the conscientious conduct observed by the Swedish soldiers in their dealings with the inhabitants, produced abundance in the camp of the King. The high favour in which Gustavus Adolphus stood with the whole nobility of the Circle, the respect and admiration with which his brilliant exploits were regarded, the rich booty which they promised themselves in the service of so fortunate a monarch, were strongly favourable to him in recruiting his troops ; a step which became necessary in consequence of detaching so many garrisons from the main army. Recruits flocked to his standard from all quarters of Franconia, at the sound of his drums.

The King had scarcely spent more time in obtaining possession of Franconia, than he would have required to cross the country. In order to complete the conquest of the whole Circle, Gustavus Horn, one of his best Generals, was left

behind with a force of 8000 men. He himself hastened with his main army, now reinforced by the recruits of Franconia, towards the Rhine ; to secure this frontier of the empire against the Spaniards ; to disarm the Ecclesiastical princes ; and to obtain from their fertile territories new resources for the continuation of the war. He followed the course of the Maine ; Seligenstadt, Aschaffenburg, Steinheim, the whole territory on both sides of the river was subjected, in the course of his march ; the Imperial garrisons seldom awaiting his arrival, and never attempting resistance. One of his Colonels had, shortly before, the good fortune to wrest from the Imperialists, by surprise, the town and citadel of Hanau, for the preservation of which, Tilly had shewn such anxiety. Eager to be free of the oppressive burden of the Austrian soldiery, the Count of Hanau gladly placed himself under the milder yoke of the King of Sweden.

Gustavus Adolphus now directed his attention to Francfort ; his constant maxim in Germany being, to secure his rear by the friendship and possession of the more important towns. Francfort was one of the first free cities which, while in Saxony, he had endeavoured to prepare for his reception ; and he now summoned it, by a new embassy from Offenbach, to allow him a free passage, and to admit a Swedish garrison. Willingly would this city have avoided the disagreeable alternative of chusing between the King of Sweden and the Emperor ; for, whatever side they might embrace, the inhabitants had reason to fear for their privileges and their trade. They would incur the heavy weight of the Emperor's

vengeance, by a premature submission to the King of Sweden, if the latter was afterwards unable to protect his adherents in Germany. But far more dangerous was the displeasure of an irresistible conqueror, who was already before their gates with a formidable army, and who might punish their opposition by the ruin of their commerce and prosperity. In vain did their deputies allege the danger which their fairs, their privileges, perhaps their constitution, might sustain, if they were to draw upon them the Emperor's indignation, by espousing the Swedish party. Gustavus Adolphus expressed his astonishment that when the liberties of Germany, and the fate of the Protestant religion were at stake, the citizens of Francfort should talk of their annual fairs, and sacrifice the great cause of their country and their conscience, for these trivial and temporal considerations. He added, in a menacing tone, that, having found the keys of every town and fortress, from the Isle of Rugen to the Maine, he would also know where to find a key to Francfort; that the prosperity of Germany, and the freedom of the Protestant Church, were the sole objects of his invasion; that conscious of the justice of his cause, he was determined that no obstacle should interrupt his progress; and that "he was aware the inhabitants of Francfort wished to stretch out only a finger to him, when he required the whole hand." He closely followed the Deputies, who carried back this answer, at the head of the whole army, and awaited in order of battle, near Saxenhausen, the decision of the Council.

If Francfort hesitated to submit to the Swedes,



that hesitation arose solely from apprehension of the Emperor; their own inclinations would not have allowed them for a moment to hesitate between the oppression of Germany and its Protector. The menacing preparations by which Gustavus Adolphus now compelled them to declare their resolution, would diminish the guilt of their revolt, in the eyes of the Emperor, and justify the step which they willingly took, by an appearance of compulsion. The gates were therefore opened to the King of Sweden, who marched his army through the town in a magnificent procession, and in admirable order. A garrison of 600 men was left in Saxenhausen; the King himself, the same evening, marched with the rest of his army against the town of Höchst in the territory of Mentz, which surrendered to him before night.

While Gustavus was thus extending his conquests along the Maine, the efforts of his generals and allies in the north of Germany were crowned with equal success. Rostock, Weimar, and Doemetz, the only strong places which the Imperialists still possessed in the Dutchy of Mecklenburgh, were recovered by their legitimate Sovereign, the Duke John Albert, assisted by the Swedish general Achatius Tott. In vain did the Imperial general, Wolf Count Mansfeld, endeavour to recover from the Swedes the territories of Halberstadt, of which they had taken immediate possession after the battle of Leipzig; he was soon after compelled to leave Magdeburg itself in their hands. A Swedish general, Baner, who had been left with 8000 men upon the Elbe, held that city closely blockaded, and had defeated several Imperial regiments which had been sent to its



relief. Count Mansfeld defended it in person with great resolution ; but his garrison being too weak to oppose for any length of time the numerous force of the besiegers, he had already begun to think of surrendering on conditions, when Pappenheim, advancing to his assistance, gave employment to the Swedish arms in another quarter. Magdeburg, however, or rather the wretched huts that were scattered here and there among the ruins of that important town, was afterwards voluntarily abandoned by the Imperialists, and immediately taken possession of by the Swedes.

Even the Lower Saxon states, emboldened by the successful progress of the King, ventured to raise their heads from the blow they had received from Wallenstein and Tilly in the unfortunate Danish war. They held a congress at Hamburg, at which it was determined to raise three regiments, with the assistance of which they hoped to free themselves from the oppressive presence of the Imperial garrisons. The Bishop of Bremen, a relation of Gustavus Adolphus, was not content even with this ; he assembled troops in person, and terrified the unfortunate monks and priests of the neighbourhood, but was soon compelled to lay down his arms by the Imperial general, Count Gronsfeld. Even George Duke of Lunenburg, formerly a colonel in the Imperial service, now embraced the party of Gustavus, and raised several regiments for that monarch, which, by occupying the attention of the Imperialists in Lower Saxony, were of material advantage to him.

But services far more important were rendered to the King by the Landgrave William of Hesse Cassel, whose victorious arms struck terror into

the greater part of Westphalia and Lower Saxony, the Bishoprick of Fulda, and even the Electorate of Cologne. It will be recollected that immediately after the alliance which the Landgrave had concluded with Gustavus Adolphus in his camp at Werben, two Imperial generals, Fugger and Altringer, were despatched by Count Tilly into Hesse, to chastise the Landgrave for his revolt against the Emperor. But this prince had courageously resisted the arms of his enemies, as his subjects had done the incendiary proclamations of Tilly, and the battle of Leipzig had soon relieved him of the presence of these desolating bands. He availed himself of their retreat with equal courage and resolution; in a short time he conquered Vach Minden, and Hoexter, and by his rapid advance alarmed the bishoprics of Fulda, Paderbern, and the Ecclesiastical territories bordering on Hesse. The terrified states hastened, by a speedy submission to put a stop to his progress, and to escape the risk of plunder by a voluntary contribution of considerable amount. After these fortunate undertakings, the Landgrave united his victorious army to that of Gustavus Adolphus, and went to meet that monarch in person at Francfort, to concert with him their future plan of operations.

A number of princes and foreign ambassadors assembled in this city to congratulate Gustavus on his success, and either to conciliate his favour or appease his indignation. Among these was the banished King of Bohemia, the Palatine Frederick V., who had hastened from Holland to throw himself into the arms of his avenger and protector. Gustavus bestowed on him the unprofitable honour of treat-

ing him as a crowned head, and endeavoured, by a respectful sympathy, to soften his sense of his misfortunes. But great as the advantages were which Frederick promised himself from the power and good fortune of his protector; and strongly as he depended on his justice and magnanimity, the hope of this unfortunate prince's restoration to his dominions seemed as distant as ever. The inactivity and contradictory politics of the English court had abated the zeal of Gustavus Adolphus, and a feeling of irritation which he could not entirely suppress, made him on this occasion forget the glorious duty of protecting the oppressed, the character in which he had so loudly proclaimed himself on his invasion of Germany.

The terror of the King's irresistible strength, and the prospect of his vengeance, had also compelled George Landgrave of Hesse D'Armstadt to a speedy submission. His connexion with the Emperor, and his indifference to the Protestant cause, were no secret to the King, but he was satisfied with laughing at the efforts of so impotent an enemy. As the Landgrave was so imperfectly acquainted with his own strength, and the political situation of Germany, as to obtrude himself as mediator between the rival parties, Gustavus used jestingly to call him the peacemaker. He was frequently heard to say, when gaining money from the Landgrave at play, "That the money afforded him double satisfaction, as it was Imperial coin." The Landgrave was indebted to his relationship with the Elector of Saxony, whom it was the interest of Gustavus to treat with forbearance, for the favourable terms he now received from the King, who contented himself with the surrender of

his fortress of Russelheim, and his promise of observing a strict neutrality during the war. The Counts of Westerwald and Wetteran also visited the King in Frankfort, to conclude an alliance, and to offer him their assistance against the Spaniards, which was afterwards very favourable to his cause. The town of Frankfort itself had reason to rejoice at the presence of this monarch, who by his royal authority protected their trade, and by the most effectual measures, re-established the fairs, which had suffered greatly by the war.

The Swedish army was now reinforced by ten thousand Hessians, under William Landgrave of Cassel. Gustavus Adolphus had already invested Königstein; Kostheim and Fliershain surrendered after a short siege; he was in possession of the whole course of the Maine; and boats were prepared with all possible speed at Höechst to carry his troops across the Rhine. These preparations filled the Elector of Mentz, Anselm Casimir, with consternation; and he doubted not for a moment that he was likely to be the first against whom the storm of war would be directed. As an adherent of the Emperor, and one of the most active members of the League, he had no better treatment to expect than his confederates, the Bishops of Wurtzburg and Bamberg, had already received. The situation of his territories upon the Rhine rendered it necessary for the enemy to secure them, while their fertility afforded an irresistible temptation to the necessities of their army. But miscalculating his own strength, or that of his adversaries, the Elector flattered himself that he should be able to repel force by force, and weary out the valour of the Swedes by the strength of

his fortifications. He repaired with all possible expedition the fortifications of his capital, provided it with every thing necessary for maintaining a long defence, and received into the town a Spanish garrison of 2000 Spaniards, under Don Philip de Sylva. To prevent the approach of the Swedish transports, he endeavoured to close up the mouth of the Maine by driving piles, and sinking large heaps of stones and vessels across the river. He himself, accompanied by the Bishop of Worms, took refuge with his most precious effects in Cologne, abandoning his capital and his territories to the rapacity of a tyrannical garrison. All these preparations, however, which were indicative of a weak and overweening confidence, rather than of true courage, did not prevent the Swedes from marching against Mentz, and preparing for a serious attack upon that city. While one part of their forces poured into the Rheingau, routing the Spaniards who remained in that quarter, and imposing contributions on the inhabitants, another laid the Catholic towns in Westerwald and Wetterau under similar contributions. The main army had encamped at Cassel, opposite Mentz; and Bernhard, Duke of Weimar, made himself master of the Mouse Tower and the Castle of Ehrenfels, on the other side of the Rhine. Gustavus now made active preparations to cross the Rhine, and to attack the town on the land side, when the progress of Count Tilly in Franconia suddenly called him from the siege, and obtained for the Elector a short repose.

The danger of Nuremberg, which Tilly, during the absence of Gustavus Adolphus on the Rhine,

had threatened with a siege, and with the cruel fate of Magdeburg in the event of resistance, was the cause of the King's sudden retreat from before Mentz. In order to escape subjecting himself a second time to the reproaches of Germany, and the disgrace of abandoning his confederates to the mercy of a ferocious enemy, he hastened by rapid marches to relieve that important city; but on his arrival at Francfort, he heard of its spirited resistance and of the retreat of Tilly, and lost no time in resuming his efforts against Mentz. As he failed in an attempt to cross the Rhine at Cassel under the cannon of the besieged, he now resolved to advance upon the town from another quarter; and, directing his march towards the Bergstrasse, he made himself master of all the places of importance, and made his appearance a second time upon the banks of the Rhine at Stockstadt between Gernsheim and Oppenheim. The whole of the Bergstrasse had been abandoned by the Spaniards, but they endeavoured obstinately to defend the other bank of the river. For this purpose they had burned or sunk all the vessels in the neighbourhood, and were arranged in formidable force on the banks, in case the King should attempt the passage at that place.

The King's impetuosity on this occasion exposed him to the danger of falling into the hands of the enemy. In order to reconnoitre the opposite bank he had ventured to cross the river in a small boat; but had scarcely landed when he was attacked by a party of Spanish horse, and with difficulty effected his escape by a precipitate retreat. He at last succeeded, with the assistance of the neighbouring fishermen, in procuring some transports; in

two of which he despatched Count Brahe across the river with 300 Swedes. Scarcely had he time to entrench himself on the opposite bank, when he was attacked by 14 companies of Spanish dragoons and cuirassiers. Notwithstanding the superiority of the enemy, however, Count Brahe defended himself bravely with his small force; and gained time for the King to advance to his support with fresh troops. The Spaniards took to flight with the loss of 600 men; some taking refuge in Oppenheim, and others in Mentz. A lion of marble on a high pillar, holding a naked sword in his paw, and a helmet, on his head, showed the traveller, seventy years afterwards, the spot where the Immortal Monarch crossed the great river of Germany.

Immediately after this fortunate action, Gustavus Adolphus transported his artillery and the greater part of his troops across the river, and laid siege to Oppenheim, which, after a desperate defence, was carried by storm on the 8th December 1631. 500 Spaniards, who had so courageously defended the place, fell victims to the fury of the Swedes. The news of Gustavus having crossed the Rhine, struck terror into the Spaniards and the troops of Lorraine, who had thought themselves secure on the other side of the river from the vengeance of the Swedes. A rapid flight was now their only resource; every place not capable of maintaining an effectual defence was at once abandoned by them. After a long series of outrages committed on the defenceless citizens, the troops of Lorraine evacuated Worms, which they treated with wanton cruelty before their departure. The Spaniards hastened to secure themselves on



Frankenthal, in which they hoped to bid defiance to the victorious arms of Gustavus Adolphus.

The King on the other hand lost no time in pursuing his plans against Mentz, into which the flower of the Spanish troops had thrown themselves. While he advanced against the town, upon the left bank of the Rhine, the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel had approached it on the other, reducing several strong places on his march. The besieged Spaniards, though attacked on both sides, showed at first great courage and determination, and a shower of bombs fell for several days into the Swedish Camp, which cost the King the lives of many of his bravest soldiers. But notwithstanding this brave resistance, the Swedes continued to gain ground, and had at last advanced so close to the ditch, that they began to make serious preparations for an assault. The courage of the besieged then gave way. They trembled, and not without reason, at the furious impetuosity of the Swedish soldiers, of which the fate of Marienberg had afforded so fearful an example. A fate not less dreadful awaited Mentz, if that town was taken by storm; and the enemy might even be easily tempted to revenge on this rich and magnificent Catholic city the carnage of Magdeburg. More on account of the town than of their own lives, the Spanish garrison capitulated on the 4th day, and obtained from the magnanimity of the victor a safe conduct to Luxembourg; but the greater part of them, following the example of their predecessors, enlisted in the service of Sweden.

On the 13th December 1631, the King made his entry into the conquered town, and took up



his residence in the palace of the Elector. Eighty cannon fell into his hands, and the citizens were obliged to purchase an exemption from plunder, by a payment of 80,000 florins. From this indulgence the Jews and the clergy were excluded, they being obliged to redeem their property by large and separate contributions. The library of the Elector the King committed to his chancellor Oxenstiern, with the view of having it transported to the Academy of Westerrah, but the ship in which it was to be conveyed to Sweden foundered at sea, and this valuable treasure was buried beneath the waves of the Baltic.

The misfortunes of the Spaniards in the territories of the Rhine, did not terminate with the loss of Mentz. Shortly before the taking of that city, the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel had taken Falkenstein and Reifenberg: The fortress of Koningstein now surrendered to the Hessians. The Rhinegrave Otto Louis, one of the King's generals, had the good fortune to defeat nine Spanish squadrons who were on their march for Frankenthal, and to make himself master of the most important towns upon the Rhine, from Boppard to Bacharach. After the capture of the fortress of Braunsfels, which was effected by the Count of Wetterau, with the assistance of the Swedes, the Spaniards had lost every place in Wetterau, while in the Palatinate they could scarcely save any except Frankenthal. Landau and Kronweisenberg openly declared for the Swedes: Spires offered to raise troops for the King. Mannheim was gained to the Swedes through the prudent measures of the Duke Bernard of Weimar, and the negligence of

the governor, who, for this misconduct, was tried before the council of war at Heidelberg, and beheaded.

The King had protracted the campaign into the depth of winter, and the severity of the season was perhaps one cause of the superiority of his soldiers over those of the enemy. But the exhausted troops now stood in need of the repose of winter quarters, which Gustavus, soon after the taking of Mentz, granted them in the neighbouring territories. He himself employed the interval of repose, which the season of the year rendered necessary, in arranging the affairs of his Cabinet with his Chancellor, in treating for a neutrality with some of his enemies, and adjusting some political disputes with an allied neighbour, which his past conduct had occasioned. He chose the city of Mentz as his winter quarters, and the centre of management for his state affairs; and showed a greater partiality for this town, than seemed consistent with the interests of the German princes, or the shortness of his visit to the empire. Not contented with fortifying the town in the strongest manner, he erected a new citadel at the angle formed by the junction of the Maine with the Rhine; which was named Gustavusburg from its founder, but which is better known under the title of Pfaffenraub or Pfaffenzwang.\*

While Gustavus Adolphus made himself master of the Rhine, and the three neighbouring electorates, by his victorious arms, every artifice was resorted to by his watchful enemies in Paris, and St Germain's, to deprive him of the support of France, and, if possible, to involve him in a war

\* Priests' plunder; alluding to the means by which the expense of its erection had been defrayed.

with that kingdom. By his sudden and unexpected march to the Rhine, he had surprised his friends, and furnished his enemies with a pretext for distrusting his intentions. After the conquest of Wurtzburg, and the greater part of Franconia, it was in his power to press forward into Bavaria and Austria, throughout the bishopric of Bamberg and the Upper Palatinate; and it was generally and naturally believed that he would lose no time in attacking the Emperor and the Duke of Bavaria, in the very centre of their power, and putting an immediate period to the war, by the subjection of these his principal enemies. But to the astonishment of both parties, Gustavus relinquished the path which had thus been traced for him, and, instead of directing his course to the right, turned to the left, to vent his indignation on the less important and more innocent princes of the Rhine, while he gave time to his more formidable opponents to recruit their strength. Nothing but the intention of reinstating the unfortunate Palatine Frederick V. in the possession of his territories, by the immediate expulsion of the Spaniards, could render this strange step intelligible; and the belief that that restoration was immediately to take place, at first silenced the suspicions of his friends, and the calumnies of his enemies. But the Lower Palatinate was now almost entirely cleared of the enemy, and yet Gustavus continued to form new schemes of conquest on the Rhine, and to withhold the reconquered country from its legitimate possessor. It was in vain that the English ambassador reminded him of the duty he owed to Justice, and the solemn engagement he had himself entered into; Gustavus

replied to these demands with bitter complaints against the inactivity of the English Court, and prepared to extend his victorious arms into Alsace, and even into Lorraine.

The distrust excited by the conduct of the Swedish monarch was now openly expressed, while the malice of his enemies was busied in circulating the most injurious reports as to his intentions. Richelieu, the Minister of Louis XIII., had already witnessed with anxiety the progress of the King towards the French frontier, and the suspicious temper of his master rendered him but too accessible to the reports which were circulated with regard to his views. France was at this moment involved in a civil war with its Protestant subjects, and there was reason to fear that the approach of a victorious monarch, of their own party, might inspire them with new courage, and animate them to a more violent resistance. This might be the case, even if Gustavus Adolphus was ever so little inclined to afford them encouragement, or to act unfaithfully towards his ally, the King of France. But the revengeful disposition of the Bishop of Wurtzburg, who was anxious to console himself for the loss of his dominions, by his intrigues in the French Court, the envenomed rhetoric of the Jesuits, and the active zeal of the Bavarian minister, represented this dangerous alliance between the Hugonots and the Swedes as a matter perfectly settled, and continued to fill the mind of the timid Louis with the most fearful apprehensions. Not merely chimerical politicians, but many of the best informed Catholics, fully believed that the King would immediately press forward into the heart of France, make

common cause with the Hugonots, and overturn the Catholic religion within the kingdom. Fanatical zealots even saw him ready to cross the Alps with an army, and dethrone the Vicegerent of Christ in Italy. These reports, it is true, soon died away of themselves; yet it is impossible to deny that Gustavus, by his military operations on the Rhine, gave a dangerous handle to his enemies, and in some measure justified the suspicion that his arms were directed, not so much against the Emperor and the Duke of Bavaria, as against the Catholic religion itself.

The general clamour raised by the Catholic Courts, at the instigation of the Jesuits, against the alliance between France and the enemy of their church, at last compelled Cardinal Richelieu to take a decisive step for the security of his religion, and at once to convince the Catholic world of the religious zeal of France, and the selfish policy of the Ecclesiastical States of Germany. Convinced that the views of the King of Sweden, like his own, were directed merely to the humiliation of the power of Austria, he hesitated not to promise to the Princes of the League, the observance of a complete neutrality on the part of Sweden, on condition of their abandoning their alliance with the Emperor, and withdrawing their troops. Whatever might be the resolution adopted by the princes, Richelieu equally attained his object. By their separation from the Austrian interest, Ferdinand would be at once exposed to the united attack of France and Sweden; and Gustavus Adolphus, freed from his other enemies in Germany, would be enabled to direct his undivided strength against the hereditary dominions of

Austria. The fall of Austria was, in that event, inevitable, and the great object of Richelieu's policy would be attained without injury to the church. If again the princes of the League persisted in their opposition, and adhered to the Austrian alliance, France would at least be justified in the eyes of Europe, by the proposal she had made, and would have sufficiently proved the sincerity of her attachment to the Catholic cause, and performed her duty as a member of the Roman church. The princes of the League would then appear the sole authors of those evils which the Catholics of Germany were unavoidably exposed to, from the continuance of the war; they alone, by their wilful and obstinate adherence to the Emperor, would frustrate the measures employed for their protection, expose the church to danger, and themselves to destruction.

Richelieu pursued this plan with the greater zeal, the more he was pressed by the repeated applications of the Elector of Bavaria, for assistance from France. It will be recollected that this prince, from the moment he had begun to entertain suspicions of the Emperor, had entered into a secret alliance with France, by which he hoped to secure himself in the possession of the Palatinate, in the event of any future change in the Emperor's sentiments. But though the origin of the treaty itself showed clearly against what enemy it was directed, Maximilian now thought proper to make use of it against the King of Sweden, and did not hesitate to demand from France that assistance against Gustavus Adolphus her ally, which she had promised against Austria. Richelieu, embarrassed by this contradictory alliance, with two

powers opposed to each other, had no other resource left but to endeavour to put a speedy termination to their hostilities : And, unwilling to sacrifice Bavaria, while he was unable to protect it through his connexion with Sweden, he turned his efforts entirely to the effecting a neutrality, as the only means of fulfilling his obligations to both. The Marquis of Breze was for this purpose sent as his plenipotentiary to the King of Sweden in Mentz, to ascertain his sentiments on this point, and to procure from him favourable conditions for the allied princes. But if Louis XIII. had powerful reasons for wishing to see this alliance effected, Gustavus Adolphus had as important grounds to desire the contrary. Convinced by numerous proofs that the aversion of the Princes of the League to the Protestant religion was unconquerable, their hatred against the foreign power of the Swedes implacable, and their attachment to the House of Austria inseparable, he apprehended less danger from their open hostility, than from a neutrality so much opposed to their inclinations ; and, constrained as he was to carry on the war in Germany at the expense of the enemy, he sustained a manifest loss, if without increasing the number of his friends, he diminished that of his open enemies. It was therefore not surprising that Gustavus Adolphus showed little inclination to purchase the neutrality of the Catholic princes, by which he was likely to gain so little, by the loss of those advantages he had already obtained.

The conditions, accordingly, upon which he offered to accede to the proposal of neutrality on the part of Bavaria were severe, and suited to the views he entertained. He required of the Catho-



lic League a total neutrality; the recall of their troops from the Imperial army, from the conquered towns, and from all the Protestant countries; a considerable diminution of their military force; the exclusion of the imperial armies from their territories, and an obligation that they should neither be assisted with men, provisions, nor ammunition. Harsh as the conditions were which the victor thus imposed upon the vanquished, the French mediator flattered himself he should be able to prevail on the Elector of Bavaria to accept them. In order to accommodate the matter, Gustavus had agreed to grant to the latter a cessation of hostilities for a fortnight. But at the very moment when this monarch was receiving from the French agents repeated assurances of the favourable progress of the negotiation, an intercepted letter of the Elector to the Imperial General Papenheim in Westphalia, discovered to him the perfidy of that prince, who, in the whole negotiation, had no other object in view but to gain time for resistance. Far from contemplating the idea of fettering himself in his military operations by any truce with Sweden, the artful prince was accelerating his preparations, and employing the leisure which his enemy afforded him, in the most active provisions for his defence. The whole negotiation accordingly proved fruitless, and served only to renew, with more virulence than ever, the hostilities of the Bavarians and the Swedes.

Tilly's augmented force, with which this general threatened to overrun Franconia, urgently required the King's presence in that Circle; but it was necessary, in the first place, to drive the Spaniards from the Rhine, and to cut off their means



of invading Germany from the Netherlands. With this view, Gustavus Adolphus had made an offer of neutrality to the Elector of Treves, Philip von Zeltern, on condition that the fortress of Hermanstein should be ceded to him, and a free passage granted to his troops through the town of Coblentz. But unwillingly as the Elector witnessed the presence of the Spaniards within his territories, he was still less disposed to commit himself to the suspicious protection of a heretic, and to place his fate in the hands of the Swedish conqueror. Unable by his own strength to maintain his independence against two such powerful rivals, he took refuge under the protection of France. Richelieu, with his usual prudent policy, availed himself of his embarrassments to increase the power of France, and to gain for her an important ally on the German frontier. A numerous French army was despatched to cover the territory of Treves, and the fortress of Ehrenbreitstein received a French garrison. But the object of the Elector, in this bold step, was not completely gained : for the offended pride of Gustavus Adolphus was not appeased till a free passage was granted to the Swedish troops through the territories of Treves.

While these negotiations were carried on with Treves and France, the King's generals had cleared the remainder of the territory of Mentz of the Spanish garrisons, and Gustavus himself completed the conquest of this district by the capture of Kreutznach. To guard these conquests, the chancellor Oxenstiern was left with part of the troops upon the Middle Rhine, while the main army, un-

der the King himself, began its march against the enemy in Franconia.

The possession of this Circle had, in the meantime, been disputed with variable success, between Count Tilly and the Swedish General Horn, whom Gustavus had left there with 8000 men ; and the Bishopric of Bamberg, in particular, was at once the object of their struggle, and the scene of their ravages. The King, called off to the Rhine by his other projects, had left to his General the chastisement of the Bishop, whose perfidy had excited his indignation, and the activity of Horn justified the choice. In a short time, he subjected great part of the Bishopric to the Swedish arms ; and the capital itself, abandoned by its Imperial garrison, was carried by storm. The banished Bishop now pressed the Elector of Bavaria most urgently for assistance ; and that Prince was at length persuaded to put an end to Tilly's inactivity. Having received from his Master full powers to reinstate the Bishop in his territories, this General collected his troops, who were scattered over the Upper Palatinate, and advanced upon Bamberg with an army of 20,000 men. Gustavus Horn, firmly determined to maintain his conquest even against this overwhelming force, awaited the enemy within the walls of Bamberg ; but found himself obliged to yield to the vanguard of Tilly, what he had hoped to hold out against his whole army. A confusion which arose among his troops, and which no presence of mind on the part of their General could remedy, opened the gates to the enemy, and it was with difficulty that the troops, baggage and artillery, were saved. The reconquest of Bamberg was the fruit of this victory ;

but Tilly, with every effort, was unable to overtake the Swedish General, who retired in good order across the Rhine. The King's appearance in Franconia, and his junction with Gustavus Horn at Kitzingen, put a stop to Tilly's conquests, and compelled him to look to his own safety by a timely retreat.

The King made a general review of his troops at Aschaffenburg; the number of which, after his junction with Gustavus Horn, Banner, and Duke William of Weimar, amounted to nearly 40,000 men. Nothing interrupted his progress through Franconia; for Count Tilly, far too weak to encounter an enemy so superior in numbers, had retreated, by rapid marches, towards the Danube. Bohemia and Bavaria were now equally near to the King, and, uncertain whither his victorious course might be directed, Maximilian could form no immediate resolution. The choice of the King, and the fate of both provinces, now depended on the course left open to Count Tilly. It was dangerous while so formidable an enemy was approaching to leave Bavaria undefended, in order to protect Austria; still more dangerous by receiving Tilly into Bavaria, to draw the enemy also into this quarter, and render it the seat of a destructive war. The cares of the Sovereign and the Patriot prevailed at last over the scruples of the Statesman, and Tilly received orders, at all hazards, to cover the frontiers of Bavaria with his army.

Nuremberg received with triumphant joy the Protector of the Protestant religion and of the German liberties, and the enthusiasm of the citizens expressed itself on his arrival in the most touching demonstrations of admiration and joy. Gustavus

himself could not suppress his astonishment, at seeing himself in this city, in the very centre of Germany, where he had never expected to be able to penetrate. The noble appearance of his person completed the impression produced by his glorious actions, and the condescension with which he repaid the congratulations of the citizens, gained him in an instant the affections of all. He personally confirmed the alliance he had entered into with them on the shores of the Baltic, and excited the citizens to an active zeal and fraternal unity against the common enemy. After a short residence in Nuremberg he followed his army to the Danube, and unexpectedly appeared before the frontier town of Donauwerth. The place was defended by a numerous Bavarian garrison; and their commander Rodolph Maximilian, Duke of Saxe Lauenburg, showed at first the firmest resolution to hold out till the arrival of Tilly. But the vigour with which Gustavus Adolphus commenced the siege, soon constrained him to take measures for a speedy and secure retreat, which he successfully executed amidst a tremendous fire from the Swedish artillery.

The capture of Donauwerth opened to the King the possession of the other side of the Danube, and now only the small river Lech separated him from Bavaria. The immediate danger to which his dominions were exposed, excited the utmost activity of Maximilian; and, however little he had hitherto done to interrupt the progress of the enemy towards his frontier, he was now determined to dispute with them as resolutely as possible the remainder of their course. On the opposite side of the Lech, near the small town of Rain, Tilly occupied a fortified camp, which, surround-

ed by three rivers, bade defiance to every attack. All the bridges over the river were destroyed; the whole course of the stream as far as Augsburg strongly garrisoned; and that town itself, which had shown strong symptoms of its inclination to imitate the example of Nuremberg and Francfort, secured by the introduction of a Bavarian garrison, and by disarming the inhabitants. The Elector himself, with all the troops he could collect, threw himself into Tilly's camp as if all his hopes were concentrated in this single point, and the good fortune of the Swedes was to suffer shipwreck before its lines.

Gustavus Adolphus soon appeared on the bank opposite the Bavarian entrenchments, after subjecting to his arms the whole territory of Augsburg, on his own side of the river, and opening to his troops a rich supply of necessaries from that quarter. It was now the month of March, when the river, swelled to an uncommon height, by frequent rains, and the melting of the snow from the mountains of the Tyrol, flowed with great rapidity between its steep banks. Its waves threatened the rash assailants with certain destruction, while the enemy's cannon opened their murderous discharge upon them from the opposite side. If they escaped the fury of the fire and water, a new and vigorous enemy awaited them, in an impregnable camp; and a battle must be begun, where they needed repose and refreshment. Exhausted as they were, they hastened to attack the hostile entrenchments, the strength of which seemed to bid defiance to every assault. A defeat sustained upon this river would be attended with inevitable ruin, since the same stream which impeded their

victorious advance, would also cut off their retreat, if fortune should abandon them.

The Swedish Council of War, which the King now assembled, strongly represented to him the importance of these considerations, in order to deter him from this dangerous undertaking. Even the most intrepid were appalled, and a troop of honourable warriors, who had grown gray in the field, did not hesitate to express their doubts. But the King's resolution was fixed. "What!" said he to Gustavus Horn, who spoke for the rest, "have we crossed the Baltic, and so many of the great rivers of Germany, to have our progress interrupted by a brook like the Lech?" He had already, with great personal danger, reconnoitred the position, and discovered that his own side of the river was considerably more elevated than the other, by which the fire of the Swedish artillery must have a considerable advantage over that of the enemy. He availed himself, with rapid presence of mind, of this circumstance. At the place where the left bank of the Lech forms an angle towards the right, he immediately caused three batteries to be erected, from which 72 field-pieces opened a flanking fire upon the enemy. While this destructive fire drove the Bavarians from the opposite bank, he erected, with all possible rapidity, a bridge over the river. A thick smoke, kept up by burning wood and wet straw, concealed the progress of the erection for some time from the enemy, while the continued thunder of the cannon overpowered the noise of the axes of the workmen. He himself animated by his example the courage of his troops, and discharged more than 60 cannon with his own hand. The

cannonade was returned by the Bavarians for two hours, with equal vivacity, though with less effect, as the Swedish batteries, placed on higher ground, swept the lower bank, while their height served as a breast-work to the troops behind. In vain, therefore, did the Bavarians attempt to destroy these works; the superior force of the enemy threw them into disorder, and they were compelled to be spectators of the finishing of the bridge. Tilly, on this dreadful day, did every thing in his power to raise the courage of his troops; and no danger could drive him from the banks of the river. He found at length the death which he sought; a cannon ball shattered his leg; and his brave associate Altringer was, soon after, dangerously wounded in the head. Deprived of the animating presence of their generals, the Bavarians at last gave way, and Maximilian, in spite of his wishes, was driven to adopt a pusillanimous resolution. Overcome by the persuasions of the dying Tilly, whose wonted firmness was now overpowered by the near approach of death, he gave up his impregnable position for lost; and a ford, discovered by the Swedes, by which the cavalry were on the point of passing, accelerated his inglorious retreat. The same night, before a single hostile soldier had crossed the Lech, he broke up his camp, and, without giving time for the King to harass him in his march, retreated in good order to Neuburg and Ingolstadt. Gustavus Adolphus, who next day completed the passage of his army, beheld with astonishment the hostile camp abandoned: and the Elector's flight surprised him still more, when he saw the strength of the position he had quitted. "Had I been the Bavarian," said



he, " though a cannon ball had carried away my beard and chin, never would I have abandoned a position like this, and opened to my enemies a passage into my territory."

Bavaria now lay open to the conqueror; and the tide of war, which had hitherto only beat against its frontier, now streamed for the first time over these fields, which had so long escaped its ravages. But before proceeding to the conquest of these provinces, the King rescued the town of Augsburg from the yoke of Bavaria; exacted an oath of allegiance from the citizens; and secured its fulfilment by leaving a garrison in the town. He then advanced, by rapid marches, against Ingolstadt, to secure his conquests in Bavaria, and obtain a firm footing on the Danube, by the possession of this important fortress, which the Elector was attempting to cover with the greater part of his army.

Shortly after his appearance before Ingolstadt, the wounded Tilly terminated his career within the walls of that town, after experiencing all the caprices of unstable fortune. Crushed by the superior generalship of Gustavus Adolphus, he lost, at the close of his days, all the laurels of his earlier victories, and appeased, by a series of misfortunes, the justice of Providence, and the offended manes of Magdeburg. In him the Imperial army and that of the League, sustained an irreparable loss; the Catholic religion was deprived of its most zealous defender, and Maximilian of Bavaria, of the most faithful of his servants, who sealed his fidelity by his death, and even in his dying moments fulfilled the duties of a General. His last message to the Elector was an urgent advice to



take possession of Ratisbon, and thus to maintain the command of the Danube, and the communication with Bohemia.

With the confidence which seemed to be the natural result of so many victories, Gustavus Adolphus now undertook the siege of Ingolstadt, hoping to master the town by the impetuosity of his first assault. But the strength of the fortifications, and the bravery of the garrison, opposed obstacles to his attempt more formidable than any he had encountered since the battle of Breitenfeld; and a period was nearly put to his career before the walls of this town. While reconnoitering the works, a 24 pounder killed his horse beneath him, while another ball, almost immediately afterwards, struck his favourite, the young Margrave of Baden, by his side. The King, with rapid presence of mind, rose, and quieted the fears of his troops by immediately mounting another.

The occupation of Ratisbon by the Bavarians, who, according to the advice of Tilly, had surprised this town by stratagem, and placed in it a strong garrison, quickly changed the King's plan of operations. He had flattered himself with the hope of gaining this town, which was inclined to the Protestant interests, and to find in it an ally as devoted to him as Nuremberg, Augsburg, and Frankfort. The subjection of the town by the Bavarians, seemed to postpone for a long time the fulfilment of his favourite project of rendering himself master of the Danube, and depriving his adversaries of all assistance from Bohemia. He soon left Ingolstadt, against which he was wasting his time and his troops, and penetrated into the interior of Bavaria, in order to draw the Elector in-

to that quarter for the defence of his territories and thus to strip the Danube of its defenders.

The country, as far as Munich, now lay open to the conqueror. Mosburg, Landshut, and the whole territory of Freylingen, submitted to him; nothing could resist his arms. But if he met with no regular opposition in his progress, he had to contend against an implacable enemy in the heart of every Bavarian—the virulence of religious fanaticism. Troops who did not acknowledge the supremacy of the people were a new and unheard of spectacle in this country; the blind zeal of the priests represented them to the peasantry as monsters, the children of hell,<sup>1</sup> and their leader as Antichrist. No wonder, then, that they should think themselves released from all the ties of nature and humanity in regard to this brood of Satan, or think themselves justified in committing the most savage atrocities upon them. Woe to the Swedish soldier who had the misfortune to fall into their hands! All the torments which inventive malice could devise were exercised upon these unhappy victims; and the sight of their mangled bodies exasperated the army to a fearful retaliation. Gustavus Adolphus, alone, sullied the lustre of his heroic character by no act of revenge; and the aversion which the Bavarians felt towards his religion, far from releasing him from the obligations of humanity towards that unfortunate people, seemed to render him only more anxious to vindicate the character of his religion, by a more conspicuous display of clemency.

The approach of the King spread terror and consternation in the capital, which, stripped of its defenders, and abandoned by its principal inhabit-

ants, had nothing to trust to but the magnanimity of the conqueror. By an unconditional and voluntary surrender, it hoped to disarm his indignation ; and accordingly, deputies were sent to Francfort to lay at his feet the keys of the city. Strongly as the King might have been tempted by the inhuman conduct of the Bavarians, and the hostile intentions of their sovereign, to make a dreadful use of his victory ; pressed as he was even by the Germans to avenge the fate of Magdeburg on the capital of its destroyer, this great prince scorned this mean revenge ; and the very helplessness of his enemies disarmed his indignation. Contented with the noble triumph of conducting the Palatine Frederick with the pomp of a victor into the very palace of the prince who had been the chief instrument of his fall, and the usurper of his territories, he heightened the brilliancy of his triumphal entry by the superior splendour of his moderation and mildness.

The King found in Munich only a forsaken palace, for the treasures of the Elector had been transported to Werfen. The magnificence of the Electoral palace astonished him ; and he asked the guide who showed the apartments who was the architect. " No other," replied he, " than the Elector himself. "—" I wish," said the King, " that I had this architect to send to Stockholm. " " That," replied the other, " the architect will take care to prevent. " When the arsenal was examined, they found nothing but carriages which had been stripped of their cannon. The latter had been so artfully concealed under the floor, that no traces of them were to be found ; and but for the treachery of a workman, the deceit would

not have been detected. "Rise up from the dead," said the King, "and come to light." The floor was pulled up, and 140 pieces of cannon discovered, many of them of extraordinary size, which had been principally taken from the Palatinate and Bohemia. A treasure of 30,000 gold ducats, concealed in one of the largest, completed the pleasure which the King received from this unexpected acquisition.

But a far more welcome spectacle to him would have been the appearance of the Bavarian army itself; for his march into the heart of Bavaria had been undertaken chiefly with the view of luring them from their entrenchments. In this expectation he saw himself disappointed. No enemy appeared; no entreaties, however urgent, on the part of his subjects, could induce the Elector to hazard the remainder of his army by a battle. Shut up in Ratisbon, he awaited the expected reinforcements of the Duke of Friedland from Bohemia; and endeavoured, in the mean time, to stop the activity of the enemy, by reviving the negotiations for a neutrality. But the King's distrust, too often and too justly excited by his previous conduct, frustrated this design; and the intentional delay of Wallenstein abandoned Bavaria to the Swedes.

Thus far had Gustavus advanced from victory to victory, and from one conquest to another, without meeting with an enemy who could pretend to cope with him. A part of Bavaria and Swabia, the Bishopric of Franconia, the Lower Palatinate, and the Archbishopric of Mentz, lay conquered in his rear. An uninterrupted career of victory had conducted him to the borders of Austria; and the most bril-

liant success had fully justified the plan of operations which he had formed after the battle of Breitenfeld. If he had not succeeded to the utmost of his wishes in promoting a confederacy among the Protestant States, he had at least disarmed or weakened the members of the Catholic League, maintained the war chiefly at their expense, diminished the resources of the Emperor, animated the courage of the weaker States, and found a way to the Austrian States through the territories of those allies of the Emperor whom he had laid under contribution. Where arms were unavailing, the friendship of the free cities, which he had attached to him by the united ties of policy and religion, frequently was of the utmost service to him; and, as long as he maintained his superiority in the field, he could depend upon their zealous support. By his conquests on the Rhine, the Spaniards were cut off from the Lower Palatinate, even if the state of the war in the Netherlands left them at liberty to interfere in the affairs of Germany. The Duke of Lorraine himself had acceded to the neutrality after his unfortunate campaign. Even the numerous garrisons he had left behind him in his progress through Germany, had not diminished his army; and, fresh and vigorous as when he began his march, he now stood in the centre of Bavaria, with the power and the determination of carrying the war into the heart of Austria.

While Gustavus Adolphus thus maintained the war with such superiority within the empire, fortune had been no less favourable to his ally, the Elector of Saxony, in another quarter. It will be

recollected, that by the arrangement concerted between these princes at Halle, after the battle of Leipzig, the conquest of Bohemia was intrusted to the Elector of Saxony, while the King chose for himself the attack upon the territories of the League. The first fruits of the battle of Breitenfeld, was the reconquest of Leipzig, which was shortly followed by the expulsion of the Austrian garrisons from the whole Circle. Reinforced by the troops who deserted to him from the hostile garrisons, the Saxon General Arnheim, marched towards Lusatia, which had been overrun by an Imperial General Rudolph von Tiefenbach, in order to chastise the Elector for embracing the cause of the enemy. He had already commenced the usual course of devastation in this weekly defended province, and taken several towns, and terrified Dresden itself by his approach. But his destructive progress was speedily checked by an express mandate from the Emperor to spare the possessions of Saxony.

Ferdinand had too late perceived the errors of that policy, which had led him to drive the Elector of Saxony to extremities, and forcibly to compel this powerful confederate to an alliance with the King of Sweden. He now wished, by all ill-timed moderation, to repair if possible the consequences of his mistimed haughtiness; thus committing a second error while he endeavoured to remedy the first. To deprive his enemy of the assistance of so powerful an ally, he revived, by means of the Spaniards, his negotiations with the Elector; and in order to facilitate an accommodation, Tiefenbach had received orders immediately to evacuate the territories of Saxony. But these

concessions of the Emperor, far from producing the expected effect, only discovered to the Elector the embarrassment of his adversary and his own importance, and encouraged him the more to prosecute the advantages he had already obtained. How, indeed, could he, without the most shameful ingratitude, abandon an ally to whom he had given the most sacred assurances of his fidelity, and to whom he was indebted for the preservation of his dominions, and even of his Electoral dignity?

The Saxon army, now relieved of the expedition into Lusatia, marched towards Bohemia, where a combination of favourable circumstances seemed to assure them of victory. In this kingdom, the first scene of this destructive war, the flames of dissention, still lurked under their ashes, while the continued oppression of tyranny daily augmented the discontent of the inhabitants. Wherever the eye was turned, this unfortunate country showed traces of the most mournful alteration. Whole districts had changed their proprietors, and groaned under the hated yoke of Catholic masters, whom the favour of the Emperor and the Jesuits had enriched with the spoils of the exiled Protestants. Others had availed themselves of the public distress, and purchased, at a low rate, the confiscated estates of the exiles. The blood of the most distinguished champions of liberty, had been shed upon the scaffold; and those who, by a timely flight, escaped that fate, were wandering in misery far from their native land, while their inheritance was squandered by the obsequious slaves of despotism. Still more insupportable than the oppression of these



petty tyrants, was the restraint of conscience which was imposed without distinction on the whole Protestants of that kingdom. No external danger, no opposition on the part of the nation, not even the fearful lessons of past experience, could abate in the Jesuits the rage of proselytism : where fair means were unavailing, military force was employed to bring the wanderers within the pale of the church. The inhabitants of Joachims-thal, on the frontiers between Bohemia and Meissen, were the chief sufferers from this violence. Five Imperial commissaries, accompanied by as many Jesuits, and fifteen musketeers, made their appearance in this peaceful valley to preach the Gospel to the Heretics. Where the rhetoric of the former was ineffectual, they endeavoured to effect their end, by forcibly quartering the latter upon the houses, and by threats of banishment and fines. But on this occasion, the good cause prevailed, and the courageous resistance of this small district, compelled the Emperor disgracefully to recall his mandate of conversion ; the example of the court afforded an example to the Catholics of the empire, and seemed to justify every act of oppression which their insolence tempted them to exercise against the Protestants. It was not surprising, therefore, that this persecuted party was favourable to a revolution, and saw with pleasure the appearance of their deliverers upon their frontiers.

The Saxon army was already on its march towards Prague ; the Imperial garrisons had retired from every place before which they appeared. Schloeckenau, Tetschen, Aussig, Leutmeritz, soon fell into the enemy's hand, and every Ca-



tholic place was abandoned to plunder. Consternation seized all the Papists of the empire; and, conscious of the outrages which they themselves had exercised upon the Protestants, they did not dare to await the arrival of a Protestant army. All the Catholics, who had any thing to lose, fled hastily from the country to the capital, and afterwards abandoned the capital itself with equal rapidity. Prague was prepared for no attack, and too weakly garrisoned to sustain a long siege. The Emperor had too late determined to despatch Field-Marshal Tiefenbach to the defence of this capital. Before the Imperial orders could reach the head-quarters of that General in Silesia, the Saxons were, already, not far from Prague; the Protestant inhabitants of which showed little zeal, while the weakness of the garrison left no room to expect a long resistance. In this fearful state of embarrassment, the Catholic inhabitants looked for their preservation to Wallenstein, who now lived in that city as a private man. But far from employing his military experience, and the weight of his influence for the preservation of the city, he seized the favourable opportunity of gratifying his revenge. If he did not actually invite the Saxons to Prague, his conduct, at least, facilitated its capture. Though unprepared for a long resistance, the town was not without means of defending itself until succour should arrive; and, an Imperial Colonel, Count Maradas, showed serious intentions of undertaking its defence. But without orders, and excited to this enterprise only by his own zeal and courage, he did not dare to venture upon such a step without the approbation

of a superior. He therefore consulted the Duke of Friedland, whose approbation might supply the want of Imperial authority, and to whom the Bohemian Generals were expressly referred by the Court in this extremity. He, however, artfully adhered to his inactivity, and his determination to withdraw himself entirely from political affairs; and weakened the resolutions of the subalterns by the scruples which he himself evinced. To render the consternation general and complete, he finally abandoned the capital with his whole Court, however little he had to apprehend from its capture by the enemy, and the city was lost, because, by his departure, he showed that he despaired of its safety. His example was followed by the whole Catholic nobility, the generals with their troops, the clergy, and all the officers of the crown. All night the people were employed in saving their persons and effects. All the roads to Vienna were crowded with fugitives, who scarcely recovered from their consternation till they reached the capital. Maradas himself, despairing of the safety of Prague, followed the rest, and led his small detachment to Tabor, where he awaited the event.

Profound silence reigned in Prague, when the Saxons next morning appeared before it; no preparations were made for defence; not a single shot from the walls announced the intention of resistance on the part of the inhabitants. A crowd of spectators in the country came flocking round them, allured from the town by curiosity, to behold the foreign army; and the peaceful confidence with which they advanced, resembled a friendly salutation, more than a hostile reception. From the general report of these

people, the Swedes learned that the town had been deserted by the troops ; and that the government was removed to Budweiss. This unexpected and inexplicable surrender, excited Arnheim's distrust the more, as he was perfectly aware of the speedy approach of the Silesian succours ; and knew that the Saxon army was too indifferently provided with materials for undertaking a siege, and by far too weak in numbers to attempt to take the place by storm. Apprehensive of stratagem, he redoubled his vigilance ; and he was still under the influence of this feeling, until the Duke of Friedland's house-steward, whom he discovered among the crowd, confirmed to him this intelligence. " The town is ours without a blow !" exclaimed he, in astonishment, to his officers, and immediately summoned it by a trumpeter.

The citizens of Prague, thus shamefully abandoned by their defenders, had long ago taken their resolution ; and all that now remained was, to secure their properties and liberties by an advantageous capitulation. As soon as the treaty was subscribed by the Saxon general, in name of his master, the gates were opened to him without farther opposition ; and the army made their triumphal entry upon the 11th November 1631. The elector, soon after, followed in person to receive the homage of those whom he had newly taken under his protection ; for it was only in the character of protector that the three towns of Prague had surrendered to him. Their union with the Austrian monarchy, was not to be dissolved by the step they had taken. In proportion as the apprehensions of the Papists, with regard

to the reprisals of the Protestants had been exaggerated, was their surprise at the moderation of the Elector, and the discipline of his troops. Field-Marshal Arnheim, on this occasion, evinced in the plainest manner his regard for Wallenstein. Not contented with sparing his estates, upon his march, he now placed guards within his palace, in Prague, to prevent the plunder of his effects. The Catholics of the town enjoyed the fullest freedom of conscience; and of all the churches they had wrested from the Protestants, four only were now exacted from them. The Jesuits alone, who were generally considered as the authors of all past grievances, were excluded from this indulgence, and banished the kingdom.

John George did not, in his character of victor, abandon the submissive and dependent policy which the terror of the Imperial name inspired; nor did he permit himself, in Prague, to pursue a course of conduct which would assuredly be retaliated upon himself in Dresden, by an Imperial general such as Tilly, or Wallenstein. He was careful to separate the enemy with whom he was at war, from the head of the empire, to whom he owed obedience. He did not venture to touch the property of the latter, while he appropriated without scruple the cannon of the former, and transported them to Dresden. He did not take up his residence in the Imperial palace, but the house of Lichtenstein; too modest to make use of the apartments of one whom he had deprived of a kingdom. Had this trait been related of a great man, and a hero, it would be worthy of admiration; but the character of this prince leaves

us in doubt whether this moderation should be ascribed to a feeling of modesty, or to the pusillanimity of a weak mind, which even good fortune could not embolden, and which, when even restored to liberty, still felt the influence of its wonted fetters.

The capture of Prague, which was soon followed by that of most of the other towns, operated a great and sudden change in the affairs of that kingdom. Many of the Protestant nobility, who had hitherto been wandering about in misery, now returned to their country; and Count Thurn, the well known author of the Bohemian insurrection, returned to enjoy the triumph of re-appearing as a conqueror on the scene of his crime and his condemnation. He now made his triumphal entry on the very bridge where the heads of his adherents, exposed to view, held out to him a fearful prospect of his own fate; and his first care was to remove these ghastly objects of terror. The exiles again took possession of their properties, the present possessors of which had taken to flight, without thinking of recompensing them for the sums they had advanced. Even though they themselves had received the price of their estates, they seized on every thing which had once been their own; and many had reason to rejoice at the economy of the late possessors. The lands and cattle had greatly improved in their hands; the apartments were now decorated with the most costly furniture; the cellars which they had left empty, richly filled; the stables supplied; the magazines stored with provisions. But distrusting the permanence of that good fortune, which they had so unexpectedly met with, they

hastened to get quit of these insecure possessions, and to convert their immoveable into transferable property.

The presence of the Saxons inspired all the Protestants of the kingdom with courage; and, both in the country and the capital, they flocked in crowds to the newly opened Protestant churches. Many, who had adhered to Popery merely through fear, now openly embraced the new doctrine; and many of the late converts to Catholicism gladly renounced this compulsory creed, to follow the earlier conviction of their conscience. All the moderation of the new regency could not repress the manifestation of that just displeasure which this persecuted people felt against the oppressors of their consciences. They made a fearful use of their newly recovered rights; and in many parts of the kingdom, their hatred of the religion which they had been compelled to profess, could be satiated only by the blood of its adherents.

Meantime the reinforcements which the Imperial Generals Goetz and Tiefenbach were conducting from Silesia, had entered Bohemia, where they were joined by some regiments of Count Tilly from the Upper Palatinate. In order to disperse them before they should receive an accession of force, Arnheim marched against them with part of his army from Prague, and made a vigorous attack on their entrenchments near Bamberg on the Elbe. After a severe contest, he succeeded at last, though not without great loss, in driving the enemy from their fortified camp; and compelling them, by the vehemence of his fire, to recross the Elbe, and to destroy the bridge which they had built over that river. But he could not prevent the Imperialists

from obtaining the advantage in several skirmishes, nor the Croats from extending their incursions to the very gates of Prague. Brilliant and promising as the opening of the Bohemian campaign by the Saxons had been, the issue by no means satisfied the expectations of Gustavus Adolphus. Instead of availing themselves with vigour of the advantages they had gained, forcing a passage to the Swedish army through that conquered country, and, in conjunction with it, attacking the Imperial power in its central point, they weakened themselves in a war of skirmishes with the enemy, in which the advantage was not always on their side; while the time which should have been devoted to greater undertakings was lost. But the subsequent conduct of John George betrayed the motives which had prevented him from pushing his advantage over the Emperor, and promoting the plans of the King of Sweden by vigorous measures.

The Emperor had now lost the greater part of Bohemia, and the Saxons were advancing against Austria from this quarter, while the Swedish monarch was making his way towards the Imperial dominions through Franconia, Swabia, and Bavaria. A long war had exhausted the strength of the Austrian monarchy, wasted the country, and diminished its armies. The renown of its victories was gone; the confidence inspired by constant success, the obedience and the discipline of the troops, which gave so decided a superiority to the Swedish monarch, was at an end. The confederates of the Emperor were disarmed, or their fidelity shaken, by the danger which threatened themselves. Even Maximilian of Bavaria, the



most powerful support of Austria, seemed disposed to yield to the seductive proposal of a neutrality; while his suspicious alliance with France had long been a subject of apprehension to the Emperor. The Bishops of Wurtzburg and Bamberg, the Elector of Mentz, and the Duke of Lorraine, were either expelled from their territories, or threatened with immediate attack; Treves was on the point of placing itself under the protection of France. The bravery of the Hollanders gave full employment to the Spanish arms in the Netherlands; while Gustavus had driven them from their possessions on the Rhine. Poland was still fettered by the truce which subsisted between that country and Sweden. The Hungarian frontier was threatened by the Transylvanian Prince Ragotsky, a successor of Bethlen Gabor, and inheritor of his restless disposition; while the Porte was preparing to avail itself of the favourable opportunity which thus presented itself. Most of the Protestant States, emboldened by the success of their protector, openly and actively declared against the Emperor. All the resources which had been obtained by the violent and oppressive extortions of Tilly and Wallenstein in these countries were now exhausted; all these depots, magazines, and places of refuge, were now lost to the Emperor; and the war could no longer be maintained, as before, at the expense of others. To complete his distresses, a dangerous insurrection took place in the territory of the Ens, the ill-timed religious zeal of the government having stirred up the Protestant inhabitants to resistance; and thus the flame of fanaticism was kindled within the empire, while a foreign enemy was already



on its frontier.' After such a career of good fortune, such a series of brilliant victories, so extensive conquests, so much blood shed in vain, the Emperor saw himself a second time on the brink of that abyss, on which he had already tottered in the commencement of his reign. If Bavaria should embrace the neutrality; if Saxony should resist the temptations he had held out; and France resolve to attack the Spanish power at the same time in the Netherlands, in Italy, and in Catalonia, the lofty edifice of Austrian greatness would at once be laid in the dust, the Allied Powers would divide its spoils, and the Political System of Germany would undergo a total change.

This chain of disasters had commenced with the battle of Breitenfeld, the unfortunate issue of which plainly announced the approaching decline of the Austrian monarchy, whose weakness had hitherto been concealed under the imposing brilliancy of a great name. The principal cause of the superiority of the Swedes in the field, was evidently to be found in the unlimited power of their leader, who concentrated in himself the whole strength of his party; and, unfettered in his plans by any higher authority, was at liberty to avail himself of every favourable moment, could direct his whole means to the accomplishment of his ends, and was responsible to none but himself for the course he might pursue. But, since Wallenstein's dismissal, and Tilly's defeat, the situation of the Imperial army was directly the reverse. The Generals wanted authority among their troops, and liberty of action; the soldiers were deficient in discipline and obedience; the scattered corps

in unity of operation ; the States in attachment to the cause ; the leaders in harmony among themselves, in promptitude of resolve, and firmness of execution. It was not their actual superiority in strength, but in the manner of using it, that gave so decided an advantage to the enemies of the Emperor. He was not so deficient in means, as in the possession of a mind capable of directing them with energy and effect. Even had Count Tilly still maintained his old renown, the distrust of Bavaria entertained by the Emperor, did not permit him to place the fate of Austria in the hands of one who had never concealed his attachment to the House of Bavaria. The pressing want which Ferdinand felt, was that of a general possessed of sufficient experience to form and to command an army, and who would be willing at the same time to dedicate his services, with blind devotion, to the Austrian monarchy.

It was this choice which now occupied the attention of the Emperor's privy council, and divided the opinions of its members. In order to oppose one monarch to another, and to animate the courage of the troops by the presence of their sovereign, Ferdinand, in the first glow of his zeal, had offered himself as the leader of his army : but it was not difficult to alter a resolution which was the offspring of despair alone, and which gave way at once on calm reflection. But the situation which the Emperor was prevented from accepting by his dignity, and the duties of his administration, might be filled by his son, a youth of capacity and courage, and of whom great hopes were entertained by the subjects of Austria. Called by his birth to the defence of a monarchy, two of

whose crowns he already wore, Ferdinand III. King of Hungary and Bohemia, united, with the natural dignity of heir to the throne, the respect of the army, and the attachment of the people whose support was so necessary to him in the conduct of the war. None but the beloved heir to the crown could venture to impose new burdens on a people already too severely loaded; his personal presence with the army alone could suppress the pernicious jealousies of the different leaders, and restore the dormant discipline of the troops to its former activity. If so young a leader was deficient in the necessary maturity of judgment, prudence, and military experience, which practice alone could impart, this deficiency might be supplied by a judicious selection of counsellors and assistants, who, under the cover of his name, might be vested with supreme authority.

But plausible as were the grounds on which this plan was supported by part of the ministry, it was opposed by difficulties not less serious, arising from the distrust, perhaps even the jealousy of the Emperor. It was dangerous to intrust the whole fate of the monarchy to a youth, who was himself in need of council and support; a daring and hazardous measure, to oppose to the greatest general of his age, a young man, whose capacity for that situation had never yet received the test of experience; whose name, as yet unknown to fame, was too powerless to inspire a dispirited army with the assurance of future victory! How great too would be the additional burden imposed on the country in maintaining the state required by a royal leader, and which the prejudices of the age considered as inseparable from his presence with the army!

How serious a consideration for the prince himself, to commence his political career, with an office which must render him the scourge of his people and the oppressor of these territories of which he was to be the future sovereign!

But the task was not completed when a general was found for the army; an army must also be found for the general. Since the compulsory removal of Wallenstein, the Emperor had defended himself more by the assistance of Bavaria and the League, than by his own armies; and it was this dependence on the assistance of equivocal allies which he was endeavouring to escape, by the nomination of a general of his own. But what possibility was there, without the omnipotent assistance of gold, and the animating influence of a victorious commander, of raising an army out of nothing; above all, an army which, by its discipline, warlike spirit, and activity, was fitted to cope with the experienced troops of the Northern Conqueror? In all Europe, there was but one man capable of effecting this, and this man the Emperor had mortally affronted.

The moment had at last arrived, when the offended pride of the Duke of Friedland was to receive an unprecedented atonement. Fate itself had been his avenger, and an unbroken chain of disasters by which Austria had been visited since his dismissal, had extorted from the Emperor himself the confession, that with this general the right arm of his power was cut off. Every defeat of his troops renewed these wounds, every town which he lost revived in the mind of the deceived monarch, the memory of his own weakness and ingratitude. It would have been well for him,

if, in the offended general, he had only lost a leader of his troops, and a defender of his dominions; but he was destined to find in him an enemy, and the most dangerous of all, since he was least prepared against treason from such a quarter.

Removed from the theatre of war, and condemned to an irksome inactivity, while his rivals were gathering laurels on the field of fame, the haughty Duke had beheld with affected composure these changes of fortune, and concealed, under a studied and theatrical pomp, the dark designs of his restless genius. Actuated by the most vehement passions within, while all without was apparently calm and cheerful, he brooded over his projects of ambition and revenge, and slowly, but surely, advanced towards his end. All that he owed to the Emperor was now effaced from his mind; what he himself had done for the Emperor, was indelibly imprinted on his memory. His insatiable thirst for power now led him to rejoice at the Emperor's ingratitude, which seemed to absolve him from every obligation towards his former benefactor. The projects dictated by his ambition, now appeared to him only a just and excusable retaliation. In proportion as the external circle of his operations was narrowed, the world of hope expanded before him, and his enthusiastic imagination revelled in the conception of boundless projects, which, in any mind but such as his, would have appeared the offspring of madness. His own services had raised him to the proudest height which it was possible for a man, by his own efforts, to attain. Fortune had denied him no-

thing which the subject and the citizen could enjoy. Till the moment of his dismissal, his pretensions had met with no opposition ; his ambition had been restrained by no bounds ; but the blow which, at the diet of Ratisbon, levelled his hopes, showed him the difference between *original* and *derivative* power ; the fearful inferiority of the loftiest subject to his sovereign. Roused from the intoxicating belief of his own greatness by this sudden reverse of fortune, he studiously compared the power which he had possessed, with that which had deprived him of it ; and his ambition observed the steps which he had yet to surmount upon the ladder of greatness. From the moment he had so bitterly experienced the fatal weight of sovereign power, his efforts were directed to its attainment ; it was the violence which he himself had suffered, that tempted him to violence. Had he not been outraged and insulted, he might have obsequiously dedicated his services to the crown, satisfied with the glory of being the most distinguished of its servants. It was only where it was forced by violence from its sphere, that his restless star wandered from the system to which it belonged, and drove, with destructive violence, against its sun.

Meantime Gustavus Adolphus was overrunning the north of Germany ; one place after another yielded to him ; and the flower of the Austrian army had fallen at Leipzig. The intelligence of this defeat soon reached the ears of Wallenstein, who, in the retired obscurity of a private station in Prague, contemplated from a distance the tumult of war. The news, which filled the breasts of the Catholics with dismay, announced to him the return of greatness and good fortune. It was

for him that Gustavus Adolphus was labouring. Scarce had the latter begun to acquire reputation by his military operations, when Wallenstein endeavoured to court his friendship, and to make common cause with this fortunate enemy of Austria. The banished Count Thurn, who had long before dedicated his services to the King of Sweden, undertook to communicate Wallenstein's congratulations to the King, and to invite him to a close alliance with the Duke. Wallenstein demanded 15,000 men from the King, with whose assistance, and that of the troops, he himself would raise, he undertook to conquer Bohemia and Moravia; to surprise Vienna; and drive the Emperor, his master, into Italy. Strongly as the unexpected nature of this proposal, and the extravagance of its promises, excited the suspicions of Gustavus Adolphus, he was too good a judge of merit, to repel the offers of so important a friend with coldness. But when Wallenstein, encouraged by the favourable reception his first message had met with, renewed his proposals, after the battle of Breitenfeld, and pressed for an explicit answer, the prudent monarch hesitated to intrust his reputation to the chimerical projects of this daring adventurer, and to commit so large a force to a man who openly announced himself a traitor. He excused himself on the ground of the weakness of his army, which must suffer in its march through the empire, by the detachment of so large a body; and thus, perhaps, by excess of caution, lost an opportunity of putting a speedy termination to the war. He afterwards endeavoured, when too late, to renew the negotiation. But the favourable moment was past, and Wallen-



stein's offended pride never forgave the neglect with which he had been treated.

But the King's refusal, perhaps, only accelerated the breach which, from the nature of their character, was sooner or later inevitable. Both born to give laws, not to receive them, they never could have cordially united in an undertaking which, more than any other, required reciprocal submission and sacrifices. Wallenstein was nothing where he was not every thing ; he must either act with unlimited power, or not at all. Gustavus had an equal aversion to all sort of dependence, and had almost given up his advantageous alliance with France, lest its interference should fetter his own independent freedom of action. The former was lost to his own party, unless he was its leader ; the latter, if possible, still less inclined to follow the instructions of another. If the pretensions of his rival were so irksome to the Duke of Friedland, in the conduct of their joint operations, they would be insupportable in the division of the spoil. The proud monarch might condescend to accept of the assistance of a rebellious subject, against the Emperor, and to requite this important service with regal munificence ; but he never could so far forget his own dignity, and the majesty of royalty, as to grant that reward, at which the extravagant ambition of Wallenstein aimed ; to recompense a useful act of treason by a crown. It was from him that Wallenstein had reason to expect the most decided and formidable opposition, in his views on the Bohemian crown, even if all Europe beside should be disposed to acquiesce in his ambitious aim ; and in all Europe he was the only



one who could give strength and effect to his opposition. If raised to the situation of dictator in Germany, by Wallenstein's own assistance, he might turn his arms against the man to whom he owed his elevation, and hold himself acquitted of all obligations towards a traitor. There was no room for a Wallenstein under such an ally; and it was, apparently, this conviction, and not his designs upon the Imperial throne, to which he alluded, when, after the death of the King of Sweden, he was heard to say, "It is well for him and me that he is gone, the German empire could not require two such leaders."

This first attempt to be revenged on the house of Austria had failed; but the purpose itself remained fixed, the mode of its execution only was altered. What he had failed in effecting with the King of Sweden, he hoped to attain with less difficulty and more advantage, from the Elector of Saxony, whom he expected to be able to lead into his views, though he despaired of success with Gustavus Adolphus. Maintaining a continued correspondence with his old friend Arnheim, he now laboured to effect an alliance with Saxony, by which he hoped to render himself equally formidable to the Emperor and the King of Sweden. He had the more reason to expect that a proposal, which, if successful, was likely to deprive the Swedish monarch of his influence in Germany, would be favourably received by John George, from the jealousy which, he knew, that prince entertained of the power of Gustavus Adolphus, and the dislike he felt to the lofty pretensions of the King. If he succeeded in separating Saxony from the Swedish alliance, and, in

conjunction with that power, establishing a third party in the empire, the fate of the war would be placed in his hand, and by this single step he would succeed in gratifying his revenge against the Emperor, revenging the neglect of the Swedish monarch, and erecting the fabric of his own greatness on the ruin of both.

But whatever measures he might adopt for the accomplishment of his designs, it was evident they could not be carried into effect without the support of an army entirely devoted to him. This army could not be raised with such secrecy, as not to excite suspicion at the Imperial Court, and thus to frustrate his design in the very outset. The rebellious purposes for which they were destined, must be concealed from them till the moment of their execution, since otherwise it could scarcely be expected that they would listen to the voice of a traitor against their legitimate sovereign. The army therefore must be raised publicly, and in name of the Emperor, and Wallenstein placed at their head, with unlimited authority by the Emperor himself; and this could be effected only by his accepting anew the command of the army, and the unrestrained management of the war. Yet neither his pride nor his interest permitted him to sue in person for this post, or to solicit from the favour of the Emperor the possession of a limited power, when he had reason to expect that an unlimited authority might be extorted from his fears. In order to make himself the master of the terms on which the command of the army was to be confided to him, his course was to wait until the post should be forced upon him. This was the advice he received from Arnheim, and this the

end for which he laboured with such profound policy, and such unceasing activity.

Convinced that nothing but extreme necessity would remove the Emperor's irresolution, and overcome the opposition of his most zealous enemies, Bavaria and Spain, he laboured henceforth to further the progress of the enemy, and increase the embarrassments of his master. It was apparently by his advice, and at his instigation, that the Saxons, on their march into Lusatia and Silesia, had turned towards Bohemia, and overrun that defenceless kingdom; the rapidity of their conquests in that quarter was equally the result of his endeavours. By the apprehensions which he affected, he paralyzed every attempt at resistance; and his precipitate retreat was the means of delivering the capital to the enemy. At a conference with the Saxon General at Kaunitz, under pretext of negotiating for a peace, the arrangements for the conspiracy appear to have been completed; and the conquest of Bohemia was the first fruits of this mutual understanding. While he was thus personally endeavouring to increase the embarrassments of Austria, and while his views were effectually supported by the rapid progress of the Swedes upon the Rhine, his friends and bribed adherents in Vienna were instructed to circulate the loudest complaints of the public distress, and to represent the dismissal of the General as the sole cause of all these calamities. "Had Wallenstein commauded, matters would never have come to this," exclaimed a thousand voices; while their opinions found supporters even in the Emperor's privy council.

Their repeated arguments were not necessary

to convince the distressed monarch of the services of his General, and the error into which he had fallen. His dependence on Bavaria and the League had soon become insupportable to him ; but this dependence prevented him from showing his distrust, or irritating the Elector by the recal of Wallenstein. But now when the necessity became every day more urgent, and the weakness of Bavaria more obvious, he no longer hesitated to listen to the friends of the Duke, and to take into consideration their overtures for his restoration to command. The immense riches he possessed, the universal reputation he enjoyed, the rapidity with which six years before he had brought into the field an army of 40,000 men, the small expense at which he had maintained this numerous army, the exploits he had performed at its head, the fidelity and zeal he had manifested in his cause, still lived in the Emperor's recollection, and represented Wallenstein to him as the ablest instrument to restore the balance between the belligerent powers, to save Austria, and support the cause of the Catholic religion. However humiliating to the Imperial pride to make so unequivocal an admission of past errors and present necessity ; however painful to descend to entreaties from the height of his Imperial supremacy ; however doubtful the fidelity of so deeply injured and implacable an enemy ; however loud and urgent the remonstrances of the Spanish minister and the Elector of Bavaria against this step, the immediate pressure of necessity finally overcame every other consideration, and the friends of the Duke were authorized to learn his sentiments, and to hold out to him the prospect of his restoration.

Informed of all these favourable negotiations in the Emperor's cabinet, Wallenstein possessed sufficient command over himself to conceal the inward triumph he felt beneath the mark of indifference. The moment of vengeance was come, and his proud heart triumphed in the prospect of repaying with interest the injuries he had received at the hands of the Emperor. He expatiated with artful eloquence upon the tranquil happiness of a private station which he had enjoyed since his retirement from the political theatre. He had tasted too long, he said, the pleasures of independence and study, to abandon them to pursue the vain phantom of renown, and the uncertain favour of princes. His desire of glory and of greatness was at an end : tranquillity and repose was now the sole object of his wishes. The better to conceal his impatience, he declined the Emperor's invitation to the Court, but at the same time came to Znaim in Moravia, in order to facilitate the negotiations with the Court.

At first it was proposed to limit the authority to be intrusted to him by the presence of a superior, and thereby also to satisfy the scruples of the Elector of Bavaria. The Imperial deputies, Questenberg and Werdenberg, who, as old friends of the Duke, had been selected for this delicate mission, were instructed to propose to him the King of Hungary as his superintendant, who should remain with the army, and learn the art of war under Wallenstein. But the very mention of his name, threatened to put a period to the whole negotiation. Wallenstein declared he never would admit of any associate in command ; not even the Deity himself. But even when this obnoxious point

was given up, Prince Eggenberg, the Emperor's minister and favourite, who had always been the zealous champion of Wallenstein, long exhausted his eloquence in vain to overcome the pretended aversion to the Duke. "The Emperor," he admitted, "had lost in Wallenstein the most costly jewel in his crown: but this step which he had already deeply repented, he had been compelled to take contrary to his own inclination; while his esteem for the Duke had remained unaltered, his favour for him undiminished. He even gave the most decisive proof of these sentiments by the unlimited confidence he reposed in his fidelity, and his capacity to repair the errors of his predecessors, and to change the whole aspect of affairs. It would be great and noble in him to sacrifice his just resentment to the good of his country; dignified and worthy of him to refute the calumny of his enemies, by redoubling the warmth of his zeal. "This victory over himself," concluded the Prince, would crown his inestimable services to the empire, and render him the greatest man of his age.

These humiliating confessions, and flattering assurances, seemed at last to disarm the resentment of the Duke; but not until he had given full vent to his reproaches against the Emperor, had pompously enumerated his own services, and degraded to the utmost the monarch who solicited his assistance, did he condescend to lend an ear to the proposals of the minister. As if he had been influenced entirely by the force of their reasonings, he consented with apparent reluctance and haughtiness, to that which was the most ardent wish of his heart; and deigned to favour the ambassadors with a ray of hope. But far from terminating the embarrassment of the Emperor, by

a full and unconditional assurance of support, he only partially acceded to what was required of him, that he might exalt the value of that which remained. He accepted the command, but only for three months; merely for the purpose of raising an army, but not of leading it against the enemy. He wished only to display his power and ability in its organization, and to convince the Emperor of the value of that assistance, which he still retained in his hands. Convinced that an army raised from nothing, by his name alone, would sink into nothing, without its original creator, he made use of it only as a lure, by means of which, more important concessions might be afterwards extorted from his master; and yet Ferdinand congratulated himself, even in the partial acquisition he had made.

Wallenstein did not long delay the fulfilment of those promises which Germany regarded as chimerical, and which Gustavus Adolphus had considered as extravagant. But the foundation had been long ago laid, and he now only put in motion those engines which had been prepared for the purpose years before. Scarcely had the news of Wallenstein's preparations been communicated, when, from every quarter of the Austrian monarchy, crowds of soldiers repaired to try their fortunes under this general. Many who had formerly fought under his standards, had been eye-witnesses of his great actions, and experienced his magnanimity, emerged from their obscurity to share with him a second career of riches and renown. The greatness of the pay he promised allured thousands to his side, and the plentiful supplies the soldiers were likely to receive at



the expense of the peasantry, was to the latter an irresistible temptation, rather at once to embrace a military life, than to be the victims of its oppression. All the Austrian provinces were compelled to afford assistance in these preparations. No condition was exempt from taxation—no dignity or privilege from capitation. The Spanish Court, as well as the King of Hungary, agreed to advance a considerable sum. The ministers made large presents, while Wallenstein himself contributed 200,000 dollars from his own income to accelerate the preparations. The poorer officers he supported from his own revenues ; and, by his own example, by commissions and dignities, and splendid promises, he induced all, who were able, to raise troops at their own expense. Whoever raised a corps at his own cost was allowed to be its commander. In the selection of the officers religion made no difference. Riches, bravery, and experience, were more regarded than faith. By this impartiality in his treatment of different religious sects, and still more by his express declaration, that his present preparations had nothing to do with religion, the Protestant subjects of the empire were tranquillized, and induced to bear their share of the public burdens without complaint. The Duke at the same time lost no opportunity of treating with foreign states for supplies of men and money in his own name. He prevailed on the Duke of Lorraine a second time to espouse the cause of the Emperor. Poland was induced to supply him with Cossacks, and Italy with warlike necessities. Before the three months were expired, the army, which was assembled in Moravia, amounted to no less than 40,000 men, chiefly col-



lected from the remainder of Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, and the German provinces of the House of Austria. What all Europe had deemed impracticable, Wallenstein, to the astonishment of all, had in this short period effected. The charm of his name, his treasures, and his genius, had assembled in arms as many thousands, as Austria had expected hundreds. Provided even to superfluity with all supplies, commanded by experienced officers, and inflamed by enthusiastic anticipations of victory, this new created army awaited only the signal of their leader, to show themselves worthy of his choice by their bravery in the field.

The Duke had fulfilled his promise, and the army was ready to take the field; he then retired, and left to the Emperor the choice of its leader. But it would have been as easy to raise a second army, as to find any other leader than Wallenstein for the first. This promising army, the last hope of the Emperor, was but a mere illusion, when the charm was dissolved by which it had been raised; by Wallenstein, it had been raised into existence, and, without him, it sank, like a magical creation, into its original nothingness. The officers were either bound to him by pecuniary obligations, or as his adherents closely connected with his interests and the preservation of his power. The command of the regiments had been intrusted to his own relations, creatures, and favourites. He, and he alone, could realize the extravagant promises by which the soldiery had been lured into his service. His word was the only security they held for the fulfillment of their bold expectations; a blind reliance on his omnipotence,

the only bond of connection, which linked together, and blended the discordant energies of this vast mass into one common soul. The good fortune of every individual was at an end, with the retirement of him, who alone could insure its fulfilment.

However little Wallenstein was serious in his refusal, he availed himself successfully of this means of terrifying the Emperor into compliance with his extravagant demands. The progress of the enemy every day increased the pressure of his difficulties, while the remedy was also close at hand ; a word from him might terminate the general embarrassment. Prince Eggenberg, his friend, at length received orders for the third and last time, to use his interest with him to accept the command on any conditions.

He found him at Znaim in Moravia, pompously surrounded by those troops, which were the object of the Emperor's wishes. The deputy of his Sovereign was received as a suppliant by the haughty subject. " He never could trust," he said, " to a restoration to office, for which he was indebted solely to necessity, not to the Emperor's sense of justice. He was now courted, because the danger had reached its height, and safety was expected only from his arm ; but his services would soon be forgotten, and the return of security to the Emperor, would be the signal also for the return of ingratitude. His long earned renown would be at an end, if he deceived the expectations entertained of him ; his repose and happiness must be sacrificed even if he fulfilled them. The old jealousies entertained of him would soon be excited anew, and the dependent monarch would not

hesitate, a second time, to sacrifice a servant whose assistance he could dispense with, to his convenience. Better for him voluntarily, and at once, to quit a post, of which he would sooner or later be deprived by the intrigues of his enemies. Security and content were to be expected only in the bosom of private life ; and nothing but the wish to oblige the Emperor had induced him reluctantly, and for a time, to relinquish his repose."

Tired of this long farce, the minister at last assumed a serious tone, and threatened the obstinate Duke with the whole weight of the Emperor's resentment, if he persisted in his refusal. "The Imperial dignity had already stooped but too far ; and yet, instead of exciting his magnanimity by its concessions, had only increased his pride and his obstinacy. If this sacrifice had been made in vain, he would not answer, that the suppliant might not be converted into the sovereign, and that the monarch might not avenge his injured dignity on his rebellious subject. Whatever might have been the errors of Ferdinand, the Emperor at least had a right to demand obedience ; the man might be mistaken, but the monarch could not be expected to confess his error. If the Duke of Friedland had suffered unjustly, the injury might yet be repaired ; the wound which it had itself inflicted, the hand of the Emperor might heal. If he asked security for his person and his dignities, the Emperor's equity would refuse him no reasonable demand. Every thing might be forgiven except the contempt of majesty ; disobedience to its orders cancelled even the most brilliant services. These services were now required by Ferdinand, and he required them as Emperor.

Whatever price Wallenstein might set upon them would be granted ; but there was no alternative between obedience to his commands, and encountering the full weight of his indignation.

Wallenstein, whose extensive possessions within the Austrian monarchy were directly exposed to the power of the Emperor, strongly felt that this was no idle threat ; yet it was not fear which at length overcame his dissembled reluctance. The imperious tone of the deputies convinced him but too plainly of the weakness and despair which gave rise to it, while the Emperor's readiness to accede to any conditions, showed him that he had attained the summit of his wishes. He now apparently yielded to the persuasions of Eggenberg ; and left him, in order to adjust the conditions on which he accepted the command.

It was not without anxiety that the minister awaited the writing in which the haughtiest of subjects prescribed laws to the proudest of sovereigns. But however limited was the confidence he entertained in the discretion of his friend, the extravagant contents of this writing surpassed even his utmost expectations. Wallenstein demanded the unlimited command over all the German armies of Austria and Spain, with full power of rewards and punishments. Neither the King of Hungary, nor the Emperor himself, were to appear in the army, still less to exert any authority in regard to it. No commission in the army, no pension or letter of grace, was to be granted by the Emperor without Wallenstein's approval. All the conquests and confiscations that should take place were to be placed entirely at the disposal of Wallenstein, to the exclusion of every other tri-

bunal. For his ordinary pay, an Imperial hereditary estate was to be assigned him, with another of the conquered estates within the empire for his extraordinary expenses. Every Austrian province was to be opened to him if he required it, in case of retreat. He farther demanded the assurance of the possession of the Duchy of Mecklenburg, in the event of a future peace; and a formal and timely intimation, if he was a second time to be deprived of the command.

In vain the minister entreated him to moderate these demands, by which the Emperor was deprived of all authority over the troops, and rendered entirely dependent on his general. He was too well aware of the value placed on his services to abate the price at which they were to be purchased. If the Emperor was compelled by the pressure of circumstances to yield to these demands, it was not a mere feeling of haughtiness and desire of revenge which induced the Duke to make them. But his plan of future rebellion was now formed, and the conditions for which Wallenstein stipulated in this treaty with the court, were essential to its success. That plan required that the Emperor should be deprived of all authority in Germany, and placed entirely under the guidance of his general; and this object would be attained the moment Ferdinand subscribed these conditions. The use which Wallenstein intended to make of his army (a use very different from that for which it was intrusted to him) admitted of no participation of power, and still less of any authority over the army superior to his own. To have unlimited command of the inclinations of his troops, he must also have the sole command of

their destiny ; in order insensibly to attach the leading officers to himself, and to transfer to his own person the rights of sovereignty, which were only committed to him for a time by a higher authority, he must cautiously keep the latter out of the view of the army. Hence his obstinate refusal to allow any prince of the House of Austria to be present with the army. The power of disposing of all the conquered and confiscated property of the empire, also furnished him with fearful means of purchasing the services of dependents and instruments of his plans, and of playing the Dictator in Germany more absolutely than any Emperor in time of peace. By the privilege of using the Austrian provinces as a place of refuge in case of retreat, he possessed the power of holding the Emperor a prisoner by means of his own army, and within his own dominions ; of exhausting the strength of these countries, and of undermining the power of Austria in its very central recesses.

Whatever might now be the issue, he had equally secured his own advantage by the conditions he had extorted from the Emperor. If circumstances favoured the accomplishment of his daring projects, this treaty with the Emperor facilitated its execution ; if otherwise, the advantages he derived from it would at least afford him a brilliant compensation for the failure of his plans. But how could he consider an agreement valid which was extorted from his sovereign, and grounded upon treason ? How could he hope to bind the Emperor by a written agreement, in the face of a law which condemned to death every one who should have the presumption to impose any condition upon him ? But this criminal was at present

the most indispensable man in the empire, and Ferdinand, well practised in dissimulation, granted him for the present all he required.

The Imperial army had now found a leader worthy of the name. Every other authority in the army, even that of the Emperor himself, ceased from the moment Wallenstein assumed the command. Every thing was invalid which did not proceed from him. From the banks of the Danube to those of the Weser and the Oder, the influence of his pervading and animating genius was immediately felt; a new spirit seemed to inspire the troops; a new epoch of the war began. The Catholics were animated by fresh hopes, the Protestants agitated by new anxiety at the change of affairs.

The greater the extent of the sacrifices, by which the services of the new General had been purchased, the loftier were the expectations justly entertained of them at the Court of the Emperor. But the Duke was in no haste to realize these expectations. Already in the vicinity of Bohemia, and at the head of a formidable force, he had but to show himself in order to overpower the exhausted force of the Saxons, and to commence his career in a brilliant manner by the reconquest of that kingdom. But, contented with harassing the enemy by trifling attacks of the Croats, he abandoned the greater part of that kingdom to the foe, and moved calmly forward in pursuit of his own selfish plans. His plan was, not to conquer the Saxons, but to unite with them. Occupied with this important object, he remained inactive in the field, in the hope of insuring his victory more easily by means of nego-



tiation. He left nothing untried to detach this Prince from the Swedish Alliance ; and Ferdinand himself, still inclined to an accommodation with this Prince, favoured his efforts. But the extent of his obligations to Sweden were not yet so completely forgotten by the Elector, as to permit him to be guilty of such an act of perfidy ; and even had he been inclined to yield to that temptation, the equivocal character of Wallenstein, and the bad character of the Austrian policy, allowed him to put no faith in the performance of its promises. Too notorious already as a treacherous statesman, he met with no confidence upon the only occasion when he intended to act honestly, and yet circumstances did not permit him to prove the sincerity of his intentions by the disclosure of his real motives.

He unwillingly determined, therefore, to extort, by force of arms, what he had failed of obtaining by means of negotiation. He suddenly assembled his troops, and appeared before Prague ere the Saxons had time to advance to its relief. After a short resistance on the part of the besieged, the treachery of the Capuchins opened the gates to one of his regiments ; and the garrison, who had taken refuge in the citadel, laid down their arms under disgraceful conditions. Master of the capital, he hoped to facilitate his negotiations at the Saxon Court ; but while he renewed his proposals to Arnheim, he did not hesitate to enforce them by striking a decisive blow. He hastened to take possession of the narrow passes between Aussig and Pirna, in order to cut off the retreat of the Saxons into their own country ; but the rapidity of Arnheim's operations fortunately extricated them from the dan-



ger. After the retreat of this General, the last strongholds of the Saxons, Egra and Leutmeritz, surrendered to the conqueror; and, in less time than it had been lost, was the kingdom restored to its legitimate sovereign. Wallenstein, less occupied in promoting the interests of his master than in furthering his own plans, now thought of carrying the seat of war into Saxony, in order to compel the Elector, by the devastation of his territories, to enter into a private treaty with the Emperor, or rather with himself. But, however little accustomed to make his will bend to the influence of circumstances, he now perceived the necessity of postponing his favourite scheme for a time to affairs of more pressing urgency.

While he was thus driving the Saxons out of Bohemia, Gustavus Adolphus had been pursuing his conquests, as has been already detailed, on the Rhine and the Danube, and rolling the torrent of war through Franconia and Lusatia to the frontiers of Bavaria. Defeated upon the Lech, and deprived of his strongest support by the death of Count Tilly, Maximilian pressingly urged the Emperor immediately to despatch the Duke of Friedland from Bohemia to his assistance, and, by the defence of Bavaria, to avert the danger from Austria itself. He now addressed the same request to Wallenstein, and prayed him, in the most urgent manner, to despatch some regiments to his assistance in the meantime, till he himself should follow with the main army. Ferdinand seconded the request with all his influence; and one messenger after another was despatched to Wallenstein to hasten his march towards the Danube.

But it now became apparent, how completely the Emperor had sacrificed his authority, in resigning the command of his troops, and the power of issuing orders into other hands. Indifferent towards Maximilian's entreaties, and deaf to the repeated commands of the Emperor, Wallenstein remained inactive in Bohemia, and abandoned the Elector to his fate. The remembrance of the evil service which Maximilian had rendered him with the Emperor, at the Diet of Ratisbon, had sunk deep into the implacable mind of the Duke, while he was fully aware of the Elector's late attempts to prevent his restoration. The moment of revenge was now come, and Maximilian was destined severely to feel that he had provoked the resentment of the most revengeful of men. Wallenstein maintained, that Bohemia could not be left undefended, and that Austria could not be better protected, than by allowing the Swedish army to waste its strength before the Bavarian fortress. Thus he chastised his enemy by the arm of the Swedes; and while one place after another fell into their hands, he left the Elector vainly to await his arrival in Ratisbon. And not until the entire subjection of Bohemia left him no farther excuse, and the conquests of Gustavus Adolphus in Bohemia, threatened Austria itself with immediate danger, did he yield to the remonstrances of the Elector and the Emperor, and resolved on the long-expected union with the former; an event, on which, according to the general anticipation of the Catholics, would depend the fate of the campaign.

Gustavus Adolphus, too weak in numbers to cope even with the army of Wallenstein alone,

had still greater reason to apprehend that junction, and men were even astonished that he did not endeavour with more energy to prevent it. He apparently reckoned too much on the mutual dislike of the two leaders, which left little probability of any union of their forces for one common end; and it was too late to repair the error, when the event contradicted his views. He hastened, on the first certain intelligence he received of their intentions, into the upper Palatinate, to intercept the progress of the Elector: but the latter had already anticipated him, and the junction had been effected at Egra.

This frontier town had been selected by Wallenstein, as the scene of his intended triumph over his former rival. Not content with seeing him as a suppliant at his feet, he imposed upon him the hard condition of leaving his territories exposed to the enemy in his rear, and by this long march to meet him, declaring the necessity and distress under which he laboured. Even to this humiliation, the haughty Prince now submitted with calmness. It had cost him a severe struggle to apply for protection to the man who, had it depended on his own wishes, never would have possessed the *power* of affording it: but having once formed his resolution, he was firm enough to bear those evils which were inseparable from that resolve, and sufficiently master of himself to overlook these petty grievances in order to secure an important end.

But if it had been difficult to effect this junction, it was equally so to arrange the conditions on which it was to subsist. The united army must be placed under the command of one individual, if the very object of the union was to be attained,

and each was equally averse to yield to the superior authority of the other. If Maximilian's claims were enforced by his Electoral dignity, the nobleness of his descent, and his influence in the empire, those of Wallenstein were not less strongly supported by his military renown, and the unlimited authority intrusted to him by the Emperor. If the pride of the former could with difficulty stoop to serve under an Imperial subject, the haughtiness of Wallenstein was proportionally flattered, by the idea of imposing laws on so imperious a spirit. An obstinate dispute ensued, which, however, terminated in a mutual agreement to Wallenstein's advantage. The unlimited command of both armies, particularly in battle, was committed to the latter, while the Elector was deprived of all power of altering the order of battle, or even the route of the army. He retained nothing but the right of punishment and rewards over his own troops, and the free use of these, as soon as they ceased to act in conjunction with the Imperial troops.

After these preliminary arrangements, they at last ventured upon an interview ; but not until they had mutually promised to bury the past in oblivion, and all the outward formalities of a reconciliation had been arranged. According to agreement, the two princes publicly embraced, in the sight of their troops, and made mutual professions of friendship, while their breasts, in reality, overflowed with hatred. Maximilian, practised in dissimulation, possessed sufficient command over himself, not to betray in a single feature his real feelings ; but the eyes of Wallenstein sparkled with a malicious triumph ; and the constraint which

was visible in all his movements, betrayed the strength of the emotion which overmastered his proud soul.

The combined Imperial and Bavarian armies now amounted to nearly 60,000 men, chiefly consisting of veteran soldiers, before whom the King of Sweden was not in a condition to keep the field. He hastened, therefore, as soon as his attempt to prevent their junction failed, to commence his retreat into Franconia, only awaiting some decisive movement on the part of the enemy, in order to form his resolution. The position of the combined armies, between the frontiers of Saxony and Bavaria, left him for some time in doubt whether their intention was to remove the scene of war from the first of these countries, or endeavour to draw back the Swedes from the Danube, and deliver Bavaria. Saxony had been stripped of troops by Arnheim, in order to pursue his conquests in Silesia; not without a secret view, as was generally suspected, of favouring the entrance of the Duke of Friedland into that electorate, and of thus forcing the irresolute John George into a treaty with the Emperor. Gustavus Adolphus himself, in the firm belief that Wallenstein's views were directed against Saxony, hastily despatched a strong reinforcement to the assistance of his confederate, and determined, as soon as circumstances would permit, to follow with his whole force.<sup>10</sup> But the movements of Wallenstein's army soon convinced him that the attack was to be directed against himself; and the march of the Duke through the Upper Palatinate, placed the matter beyond a doubt. It

was now time to think of his own security ; to fight, rather for his existence than his supremacy, in Germany ; and to borrow from his own fertile genius, the resources for his preservation. The approach of the enemy surprised him before he had time to collect his troops, which were scattered over Germany, or to summon the allied princes to his assistance. Too weak in numbers to check the advance of the enemy, he had no choice left, but either to throw himself into Nuremberg, and meet the danger within its walls, or to sacrifice that city, and await a reinforcement, under the cannon of Donauwerth. Undismayed by danger or difficulty, where humanity or honour called him, he chose the first without hesitation, firmly determined rather to bury himself with his whole army under the ruins of Nuremberg, than to purchase his safety by the sacrifice of his confederates.

Preparations were immediately made for surrounding the city and suburbs by redoubts, and forming within these an entrenched camp. Several thousand workmen were immediately employed in this extensive operation ; and the inhabitants of Nuremberg seemed animated by a heroic resolution, to hazard life and property for the common cause. A trench, eight feet in depth and twelve in breadth, inclosed the whole fortification ; the lines were protected by redoubts and batteries, the entrances by half moons. The river Pegnitz, which flows through Nuremberg, divided the whole camp into two semicircles, connected by several bridges. About three hundred pieces of cannon were mounted on the walls of the town and the batteries of the camp. The peasantry from the neighbouring

villages and the inhabitants of Nuremberg, assisted the Swedish soldiers so effectually, that on the seventh day the army was ready to enter the camp, and, in a fortnight, this immense work was completed.

While these transactions took place without the walls, the magistrates of Nuremberg were employed in filling the magazines, and providing themselves with warlike stores, provisions, and all necessaries for a long siege. They did not neglect, at the sametime, the health of the inhabitants, which was likely to be endangered by the conflux of so many people, but enforced the strictest regulations as to cleanliness. In order, if necessary, to support the King, the youths of the city were embodied and trained to arms, the previously existing militia of the town considerably reinforced, and a new regiment raised, consisting of four-and-twenty names according to the characters of the old alphabet. Gustavus had, in the meantime, called to his assistance his allies, Duke William of Weimar, and the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel; and ordered his generals on the Rhine, in Thuringia and Lower Saxony, to set out immediately and join him with their troops in Nuremberg. His army, which was encamped within the lines that enclosed the town, scarcely exceeded 16,000 men, not even amounting to one-third of the enemy's number.

The Imperialists had, in the meantime, been advancing by slow marches towards Neumark, where Wallenstein made a general review of his troops. At the sight of this formidable force, he could not refrain from indulging in a childish boast. "In four days," said he, "it will be shown whether I,



or the King of Sweden, is to be master of the world." Yet, notwithstanding his superiority, he did nothing to fulfil his promise ; and, even let slip the opportunity of routing his enemy, where the latter had the hardihood to leave his lines to meet him. " Battles enough have been fought," was his answer to those who advised him to attack the King ; " it is now time to try another method." It was now evident how much was gained by the possession of a general, whose well founded reputation required none of those rash enterprises, to which younger soldiers are driven in the hope of gaining a name. Satisfied that the desperation of the enemy would render a victory dearly bought, while a defeat in this quarter would, irretrievably, ruin the Emperor's affairs, he contented himself with wearing out the military ardour of his opponent by a tedious blockade, and by thus depriving him of every opportunity of availing himself of his impetuous bravery, taking from him the very advantage which had hitherto rendered him invincible. Without attempting any attack therefore, he erected a strong fortified camp on the other side of the Pegnitz, and opposite Nuremberg ; and, by this well chosen position, cut off from the city and the camp of Gustavus all supplies from Franconia, Swabia, and Thuringia. Thus he held the city and the King at once besieged ; and flattered himself with the hope of slowly, but surely, wearing out by famine and pestilence the courage of his opponent, whom he had no wish to encounter in the field.

But, too little acquainted with the resources and the strength of his adversary, Wallenstein had not taken measures to avert from himself the fate



he was preparing for others. The peasantry had fled with their effects from the whole of the neighbouring country ; and the slender portion of provision which remained, must be obstinately contested with the Swedes. The King spared the magazines within the town as long as possible, endeavouring to support his army by provisions from the neighbourhood ; and these skirmishes produced a constant warfare between the Croats and the Swedish cavalry, of which the surrounding country exhibited the most melancholy traces. The necessaries of life must be obtained sword in hand ; and the foraging parties could not venture out without a numerous escort. The town opened its magazines to the King as soon as the necessity became general, but Wallenstein had to support his troops from a distance. A large convoy, purchased in Bavaria, was on its way to him ; and a thousand men were sent along with it, to secure its safe escort to the camp. Gustavus Adolphus, having received intelligence of its approach, immediately sent out a regiment of cavalry to intercept the convoy ; and the darkness of the night favoured the enterprise. The whole convoy, with the town in which it was, fell into the hands of the Swedes ; the Imperial escort was cut to pieces ; about 12,000 cattle carried off ; and a thousand waggons, loaded with bread, which could not easily be brought away, were set on fire. Seven regiments, which Wallenstein had sent out to cover the entrance of the long expected convoy, were attacked by the King, who had sent out a similar body to intercept it, routed after an obstinate action, and driven back into the Imperial camp, with the loss of 400 men. So many obstacles, and so

firm and unexpected a resistance on the part of the King, induced the Duke of Friedland to regret that he had allowed the opportunity of fighting to pass by. The strength of the Swedish camp rendered an attack hopeless; and the armed youth of Nuremberg served the King as a nursery from which he could supply his loss of troops. The want of provisions, which was felt in the Imperial camp as fully as in the Swedish, left him in doubt which of the two parties would first be compelled to give way.

The two armies had now remained in view of each other for fifteen days, defended by inaccessible entrenchments, without undertaking any thing beyond slight attacks and unimportant skirmishes. On both sides infectious diseases, the natural consequence of bad nourishment, and a crowded population, had occasioned a greater loss than the sword; and this evil daily increased. At length the long expected succours appeared in the Swedish camp; and the numerous reinforcements the King thus received, now enabled him to obey the dictates of his native bravery, and to break the charm by which he had hitherto been fettered.

Pursuant to his instructions, Duke William of Weimar had hastily drawn together a corps from the garrisons in Lower Saxony and Thuringia, which, at Schweinfurt in Franconia, was joined by four Saxon regiments, and at Kitzingen by the corps of the Rhine, which the Landgrave of Hesse, and the Palatine of Birkenfeld, despatched to the assistance of the King. The Chancellor, Oxenstiern, undertook to lead these combined forces to their place of destination. After uniting with the Duke of Weimar himself, and the Swedish Gene-

ral Banner at Windsheim, he advanced by rapid marches to Pruck and Eltersdorf, where he passed the Rednitz, and reached the Spanish camp in safety. This reinforcement amounted to nearly 50,000 men, and was attended by a train of 60 pieces of cannon, and 4000 baggage waggons. Gustavus thus saw himself at the head of nearly 70,000 men, without reckoning the militia of Nuremberg, which, in case of necessity, could bring into the field about 30,000 fighting men; a fearful force, opposed to another not less formidable. The war, compressed and narrowed to this quarter, seemed on the point of being decided by a single battle; and the States of Europe looked with anxiety to the scene, when the whole strength of the two contending parties was concentrated, as in a focus, before Nuremberg.

But if the want of provisions had been felt even before the arrival of the Swedish succours, the evil now increased to a dreadful height in both camps, for Wallenstein had also received reinforcements from Bavaria. Besides the 12,000 men which were here opposed to each other, the horses of both armies, which amounted to 50,000, and the inhabitants of Nuremberg, far exceeding the Swedish army in numbers, there were in the camp of Wallenstein about 15,000 women, with as many drivers, and nearly the same number in that of the Swedes. The custom of the time allowed the soldier to carry his family with him to the field. A number of prostitutes followed the camp of the Imperialists; while Gustavus's vigilant attention to the morals of his soldiers, promoted marriages, with the view of preventing such excesses. For the rising generation,

to whom this camp was their native country, regular military schools were set on foot, and a race of excellent warriors thus educated, by means of which the army might in a manner recruit itself in the course of a long campaign. No wonder, then, if these wandering nations exhausted every territory in which they took up their residence, and raised the necessaries of life to an exorbitant price. All the mills of Nuremberg were insufficient to grind the corn required for each day; and 15,000 pounds of bread, which were daily delivered by the town into the Swedish camp, excited, without allaying the hunger of the soldiers. Even the admirable care of the magistrates of Nuremberg could not prevent a great part of the horses from dying for want of food, while the increasing mortality in the camp daily consigned more than a hundred men to the grave.

To terminate this distress, Gustavus Adolphus, relying on his superiority, left his lines on the 25th day, presented himself before the enemy in order of battle, and cannonaded the Duke's camp from three batteries erected on the side of the Rednitz. But the Duke remained immoveable in his entrenchments, and contented himself with returning this attack by a distant fire of cannon and musketry. His resolution was to reduce the King to despair by his inactivity, and to overcome his resolution by the force of famine; and no remonstrances of Maximilian, no impatience on the part of his army, no ridicule on the part of his opponent, could shake his purpose. Deceived in his expectations, and compelled by the increasing pressure of necessity, Gustavus now attempted impossibilities, and resolved to storm a camp

which art and nature had combined to render impregnable.

After intrusting his own to the protection of the militia of Nuremberg, he advanced on St Bartholomew's day (the fifty-eighth since his encampment) in full order of battle, and passed the Rednitz at Furth, where he easily drove the enemy's outposts before him. The main army of the Imperialists was posted on the steep heights between the Biber and the Rednitz, called the Old Fortress and Altenberg; while the camp itself, commanded by these eminences, spread out immeasurably along the plain. On these hills the whole of the artillery was placed. Deep trenches, inaccessible redoubts, thick barricadoes, and pointed palisades, defended the approaches to the heights, from the summits of which Wallenstein calmly and securely discharged the lightnings of his artillery through the dark thunder-clouds of smoke which veiled his lines. Behind the breast-work was concealed a deceitful fire of musketry, and a certain death awaited the desperate assailant from the open mouths of a hundred cannon. Against this dangerous post Gustavus now directed his attack; 500 musketeers, supported by a few infantry (for a greater number could not act in this narrow position), enjoyed the unenvied preference of sacrificing themselves in the attempt. The assault was furious, the resistance terrible. Exposed to the whole fire of the enemy's artillery, and rendered desperate by the prospect of inevitable death, these determined warriors rushed forward to storm the heights; which, converted in an instant into a flaming volcano, rained on them a shower of balls. At the

same moment, the heavy cavalry rushed forward into the openings which the artillery had made in the close ranks of the assailants, and divided them; till the intrepid band, leaving a hundred dead upon the field, betook themselves to flight. It was to the Germans that Gustavus had thus yielded the post of honour. Enraged at their retreat, he now led on his Finlanders to the attack, to shame the cowardice of the Germans by their northern courage. But the Finlanders, too, received with the same vehemence, also yielded to the superiority of the enemy; and a third regiment, which succeeded them, experienced the same bad success. This was replaced by a fourth, a fifth, and a sixth; so that during a ten hours' action, every regiment was brought forward to the attack, and repulsed with loss. A thousand mangled bodies covered the field; yet Gustavus intrepidly maintained the attack, and Wallenstein his position.

In the mean time, a sharp contest had taken place between the Imperial cavalry and the left wing of the Swedes, which was posted in a thicket on the Rednitz, with varying success, and with much bravery and bloodshed on both sides. The horses of the Duke of Friedland and Prince Bernard of Weimar were killed under them; the King himself had the sole of his boot carried off by a cannon-ball. The attack and resistance was renewed with undiminished obstinacy, till the approach of night involved the field in darkness, and separated the combatants. But the Swedes now found they had advanced too far to be able to retreat without danger. While the King was looking for an officer to convey to the regiments the

order to retreat, he met Colonel Hepburn, a brave Scotsman, whose native courage alone had drawn him from the camp to share in the dangers of the day. Irritated at the King's having not long before given the preference, in some dangerous mission, to a younger officer, he had rashly vowed never again to draw his sword for the King. Gustavus now addressed himself to him, praising his courage, and requesting him to order the regiments to retreat. "Sir," replied the brave soldier, "it is the only service I cannot refuse to your Majesty: for it is one of danger,"—and immediately hastened to execute his mission. The Duke Bernard of Weimar had, in the heat of the action, made himself master of one of the heights above the Old Fortress, which commanded the hills and the whole camp. But during the night such a torrent of rain fell, that it was found impossible to draw up the cannon; and this post, which had been carried with so much bloodshed, was now voluntarily abandoned. Distrusting his fortune, which on this decisive day seemed to have forsaken him, the King did not venture the following day to renew the attack with his exhausted troops; and, conquered for the first time, because he was not conqueror, he led back his army over the Rednitz. Two thousand dead which he left behind him on the field, testified the loss he had sustained; and the Duke of Friedland remained unconquered within his lines.

Both armies continued opposed to each other for fourteen days after this action, each in expectation to compelling the other to give way. Every day the provisions declined, the progress of famine became more fearful, the excesses of the sol-



diers more furious, the sufferings of the peasantry, from their rapacity, more intolerable. The increasing distress relaxed all the ties of discipline and order in the Swedish camp ; and the German regiments, in particular, were conspicuous for the outrages they indiscriminately practised on friend and foe. The weak hand of one individual was insufficient to repress excesses, which received an apparent sanction from the silence, if not the actual example, of the inferior officers. These shameful breaches of discipline, a point on which he had hitherto prided himself with justice, gave the severest pain to the King ; and the energetic terms in which he reproached the German officers for their negligence, showed the liveliness of his emotion. “ It is you yourselves, Germans,” said he, “ that rob your native country, and ruin your own confederates. As God is my judge, I hate and detest you ; my very gall rises when I look upon you. Ye set at nought my orders ; ye are the cause of the curses with which the world pursues us, the tears of poverty I am compelled to witness, the complaints which ring in my ear :— “ The King, our friend, does us more harm than even our worst enemies.” On your account it was that I stripped my crown of its treasures, and wasted more than 40 tons of gold ;\* from your German empire I have not received what could furnish the means of a miserable subsistence. I gave you a share of all that God had given to me ; and had ye regarded my orders, I would have gladly shared with you all my future acquisitions. Your disregard of discipline convinces me of your

\* A ton of gold in Sweden amounts to 100,000 rix-dollars.



evil intentions, whatever cause I might otherwise have to applaud your bravery."

Nuremberg had strained every nerve to maintain for eleven weeks the vast crowd which was compressed within its boundaries; but at last its means were exhausted, and the King's more numerous party was obliged to determine on a retreat. Nuremberg had lost more than 10,000 of its inhabitants, and Gustavus Adolphus nearly 20,000 of his soldiers, through war and disease. The fields around the city were trampled down, the villages in ashes, the plundered peasantry were expiring on the highways;—the scent of dead bodies infected the air, and a desolating pestilence, produced by bad provisions, the exhalations from so dense a population, and so many putrescent carcasses, and propagated by the heat of the dog-days, raged among men and beasts, and continued, long after the retreat of both armies, to load the country with misery and distress. Affected by the general distress, and despairing of being able to weary out the obstinacy of the Duke of Friedland, the King broke up his camp on the 8th September, and left Nuremberg, after taking care to furnish the town with a sufficient garrison. He advanced in complete battle-array before the enemy, who remained motionless, and did not attempt in the slightest degree to harass his retreat. He directed his march towards Neustadt, by the Aisch and Windsheim, where he remained five days, in order to refresh his troops, and at the same time to be near to Nuremberg, in case the enemy should make an attempt upon the town. But Wallenstein, as exhausted as himself, had only awaited the retreat of the Swedes to commence his own. Five

days afterwards he broke up his camp at Zirndorf, and set it on fire. A hundred columns of smoke, which rose from all the surrounding villages, announced his retreat, and showed the city the fate it had escaped. His march, which was directed on Forsheim, was accompanied by the most frightful devastation; but he was now too far advanced to be overtaken by the King. The latter then divided his army, which the exhausted country was no longer able to support, to protect Franconia with one part, while with the other he prosecuted in person his conquests in Bavaria.

In the meantime, the Imperial Bavarian army had marched into the Bishopric of Bamberg, where it was a second time reviewed by the Duke of Friedland. He found this army, which had amounted to 60,000 men, now diminished by war, desertion and disease, to about 24,000, consisting chiefly of Bavarian troops. Thus had the encampment before Nuremberg cost both parties more than the loss of two great battles would have done, without apparently advancing the termination of the war, or satisfying the expectations and anxiety of Europe by any decisive result. The conquests of the King in Bavaria, it is true, were checked for a time by this division before Nuremberg, and Austria itself saved from invasion; but by the retreat of both parties from that city, he was again left at full liberty to make Bavaria the theatre of war. Indifferent towards the fate of that country, and impatient of the restraint imposed upon him by his union with the Elector, the Duke of Friedland eagerly embraced the opportunity of separating from this burdensome associate, and prosecuting, with renewed earnestness, his favourite plans. Still adhering to his purpose

of effecting a separation between Saxony and Sweden, he chose this country for the winter quarters of his troops, and hoped by his destructive presence to force the Elector the more readily into his views.

No conjuncture could be more favourable for this undertaking ; the Saxons had invaded Silesia, where, assisted by the reinforcements of Brandenburg and Sweden, they had gained several advantages over the Imperialists. By a diversion against the Elector in his own territories, Silesia would be saved, and the attempt was the more easy, as Saxony, stripped of its defenders by the war in Silesia, lay open on all sides to the enemy. The necessity of saving the hereditary dominions of Austria, would afford a pretext for disregarding the remonstrances of the Elector of Bavaria, and, under the mask of a patriotic zeal for the interests of the Emperor, Maximilian might be sacrificed without difficulty. By abandoning the rich country of Bavaria to the Swedes, he hoped not to be molested by them in his enterprise against Saxony : while the increasing coldness between Gustavus and the Saxon Court, gave him little reason to fear that any extraordinary zeal for the deliverance of John George would be manifested by that monarch. Thus abandoned a second time by his artful protector, the Elector separated from Wallenstein at Bamberg, to protect his defenceless territory with the small remnant of his troops, while the Imperial army, under the command of Friedland, directed its march through Bayreuth and Coburg towards the Thuringian Forest.

An Imperial general, Holk, had already been despatched into Vogtland, to lay waste this de-

fenceless province with fire and sword; he was soon followed by Gallas, another of the Duke's generals, and an equally ready instrument of his inhuman orders. Count Pappenheim too, was finally recalled out of Lower Saxony, to reinforce the diminished army of the Duke, and to complete the misery of Saxony. Churches destroyed, villages laid in ashes, harvests laid waste, families robbed of their property, and peasants assassinated, marked the progress of these barbarian hordes, under whose destructive scourge the whole of Thuringia, Vogtland and Meissen, groaned in vain.

Yet these were but the heralds of greater miseries, with which Wallenstein himself, at the head of the main army, threatened Saxony. After leaving behind him the most terrible proofs of his fury, in his march through Franconia and Thuringia, he suddenly appeared with his whole army in the Circle of Leipzig, and compelled the city, after a short siege, to surrender. His purpose was to press on to Dresden, and by the subjection of the whole country, to prescribe laws to the Elector. He was already approaching the Mulda, to overpower the Saxon army which had advanced against him, when the arrival of the King of Sweden at Erfurt, gave an unexpected check to his plans of conquest. Thus placed between the Saxon and Swedish armies, which were likely to be farther reinforced by the troops of George Duke of Luneburg from Lower Saxony, he hastily retired towards Merseberg, to unite with Count Pappenheim, and repel the advance of the Swedes.

Gustavus Adolphus had witnessed, with great uneasiness, the arts employed by Spain and Austria to detach his allies from him. The more im-

portant his alliance with Saxony, the more he had to apprehend from the inconstancy of John George. No sincere friendship had ever existed between himself and the Elector. A prince proud of his political importance, and accustomed to consider himself as the head of his party, could not see without regret and uneasiness the interference of a foreign power in the affairs of the empire; and nothing but the pressing distress in which his dominions were involved enabled him to conquer the dislike he entertained to the progress of this unwelcome intruder. The King's increasing importance in Germany, his preponderating influence in the Protestant States, the evident proofs which he betrayed of his ambitious views, which were of a character calculated to excite the vigilance of all the States of the Empire, awakened in the Elector a thousand anxieties, which the Imperial emissaries did not fail to nourish and increase. Every energetic step on the part of the King, every demand, however reasonable, which he addressed to the princes of the empire, gave rise to bitter complaints on the part of the Elector, which seemed to announce an approaching rupture. Even among the generals of both powers similar divisions took place, whenever they were called upon to act in common. John George's natural dislike to war, and his still lingering spirit of submission to Austria, favoured the efforts of Arnheim; who, maintaining a constant correspondence with Wallenstein, laboured incessantly to effect a private treaty between his master and the Emperor; and if his representations for a long time were disregarded, the event proved that they had not been entirely without their effect.

Gustavus Adolphus, justly apprehensive of the consequences which the defection of so powerful an ally would produce on his future existence and prospects in Germany, spared no efforts to prevent this disastrous step; and his remonstrances had hitherto had some effect upon the Elector. But the formidable strength by which the Emperor enforced his seductive proposals, and the miseries which his refusal was likely to accumulate upon Saxony, might at length have shaken the resolution of the Elector, if he was left abandoned to his enemies; while this indifference towards so powerful a confederate would irreparably destroy the confidence of the other allied powers of Sweden in their protector. This consideration induced the King a second time to yield to the pressing instances of the distressed Elector, and to sacrifice his brilliant prospects for the preservation of this ally. He had already resolved upon a second attack on Ingolstadt; and the weakness of the Elector of Bavaria justified the hope he entertained of forcing this exhausted enemy at length to accede to a neutrality. The insurrection of the peasantry in Upper Austria, opened to him a way into that quarter, and the capital might be in his possession, before Wallenstein had time to advance to its defence. All these brilliant hopes he now abandoned for the sake of an ally, who, neither by his services nor his attachment, was worthy of the sacrifice; who, notwithstanding the pressing necessity of unity of measures, had steadily pursued his own selfish projects of advantage; and who was of importance, not from the services he was expected to render, but merely from the injury he had it in his power to inflict. How is it possible then to

suppress our regret when we know that, in this expedition, undertaken for the Elector, the great King of Sweden was destined to terminate his career?

Having rapidly collected his troops in the Circle of Franconia, he followed the march of Wallenstein through Thuringia. Duke Bernard of Weimar, who had been sent against Pappenheim, joined the King at Armstadt, who now found himself at the head of 20,000 experienced troops. At Erfurt he parted with his wife, who never more beheld him save at Weissenfels, and in his coffin; their painful and anxious adieu seemed to forebode an eternal separation. He reached Naumburg on the 1st November 1632, before the corps which the Duke of Friedland had despatched for that purpose could make itself master of the town. The inhabitants of the surrounding country flocked in crowds to look upon the hero, the avenger, the great King, who had appeared like a guardian angel in that quarter a year before. Shouts of joy every where attended his progress; the people knelt before him, and struggled for the honour of touching the sheath of his sword, or the hem of his garment. The modest hero disliked this innocent and sincere tribute of gratitude and admiration. "Is it not," said he, "as if this people would make a God of me?" Our affairs look well; but I fear the vengeance of Heaven will punish us for this presumption, and soon disclose to this deluded multitude the weakness inseparable from mortality!" How amiable does Gustavus appear to us when we were about to bid him farewell for ever! Even at the summit of good fortune he fears the judgment of fate, declines that homage which is due only to



the Immortal, and his title to our tears become stronger, the nearer he approaches to that moment that calls them forth !

Meantime the Duke of Friedland had advanced to meet the King as far as Weissenfels, resolved to maintain his winter quarters in Saxony, even at the expense of a battle. His inactivity before Nuremberg had given rise to a suspicion that he was unwilling to measure his strength with that of the Hero of the North, and the whole of his hard-earned renown was in danger, if he should a second time decline a battle. His superiority in numbers, though much less than what he possessed in the earlier part of the siege of Nuremberg, was still sufficient to flatter him with the probability of victory, if he could induce the King to fight before his junction with the Saxons. But his present confidence was founded less on his numerical superiority than on the predictions of his astrologer Seni, who had read in the stars that the good fortune of the Swedish monarch would decline in the month of November.

Between Naumburg and Weissenfels there was also a range of narrow passes, formed by a continuous chain of mountains, and the river Saal which ran at their foot, which would materially impede the advance of the Swedes, and might, with the assistance of a few troops, be rendered almost impassable. The King would then have no other choice but either to penetrate with great danger through the defiles, or commence a laborious retreat through Thuringia, and to expose the greater part of his army to a march through a desert country, deficient in every necessary for their support. But the rapidity with which Gus-



tavus Adolphus had taken possession of Naumburg, disconcerted this plan, and Wallenstein himself now waited an attack.

But in this expectation he found himself deceived, when the King, instead of advancing to meet him at Weissenfels, made preparations for entrenching himself near Naumburg, and in that position awaiting the reinforcements which the Duke of Lunenburg was preparing to lead to his assistance. Undecided whether he should advance against the King through the narrow passes between Weissenfels and Naumburg, or remain inactive in his camp, he assembled his council of war to take the opinion of his most experienced generals.

None of these deemed it advisable to attack the King in his present advantageous position, while the preparations which the latter made to fortify his camp, plainly showed that he had no intention of leaving it soon. It was equally impossible to prolong the campaign through the approaching winter, and to weary out the army, already exhausted, by a continued encampment. All voices declared in favour of the termination of the campaign; and, the more so, as the important city of Cologne upon the Rhine was threatened by the Dutch, while the progress of the enemy in Westphalia and the Lower Rhine, required the most effective aid in that quarter. The Duke of Friedland yielded to the weight of these arguments; and almost convinced that, at this season, he had no attack to apprehend on the part of the King, he allowed his troops to go into winter

quarters, but so, that they might be rapidly assembled if the enemy, contrary to all expectation, should venture an attack. Count Pappenheim was despatched, with great part of the army, to the assistance of the town of Cologne, and to take possession of the fortress of Moritzburg, in the territory of Halle, on his march. Different corps took up their winter quarters in the most convenient towns in the neighbourhood, in order to watch the motions of the enemy on all sides. Count Colledo guarded the castle of Weissenfels, and Wallenstein himself, encamped with the remainder not far from Merseburg, between Flotzgaben and the Saal, from whence he intended to march to Leipzig, and to cut off the Saxons from the Swedish army. But scarce had Gustavus Adolphus heard of the departure of Pappenheim, when he suddenly broke up his camp near Naumburg, and hastened, with his whole army to attack the enemy, now weakened by one half. He advanced, by rapid marches, towards Weissenfels, from whence the intelligence of his arrival soon spread to the enemy, and was received by the Duke of Friedland with the greatest astonishment. But a speedy resolution was now necessary; and the measures of Wallenstein were soon taken. Though he had little more than 12,000 men to oppose to the 20,000 of the enemy, he might maintain himself until the return of Pappenheim, who could not have advanced farther than Halle, five miles distant.

Messengers were hastily despatched to recall him, while Wallenstein moved forward into the wide plain between the Canal and Lutzen, where he awaited the King in full order of battle, and, by

this position, cut off his communication with Leipzig and the Saxon auxiliaries.

Three cannon-shots, fired by Count Colleredo from the Castle of Weissenfels, announced the march of the King; and, at this concerted signal, the light troops of the Duke of Friedland, under the command of the Croatian General Isolani, advanced to take possession of the villages lying upon the Rippach. Their weak resistance did not interrupt the advance of the enemy, who crossed the Rippach, near the village of that name, and placed themselves opposite the Imperialists in battle array below Lutzen.

The road that runs from Weissenfels to Leipzig, is intersected between Lutzen and Markranstadt by the canal which extends from Zeitz to Merseburg, and unites the Elster with the Saal. On this canal rested the right wing of the Imperialists, and the left of the King of Sweden; but so that the cavalry of both extended themselves along the opposite side. Wallenstein's right wing was encamped to the northward behind Lutzen, and to the south of that town was posted the left wing of the Swedes; both armies fronted the high road, which run between them, and divided their order of battle; but Wallenstein, to the great disadvantage of his opponent, had, upon the evening before the battle, possessed himself of this high way, deepened the trenches which ran along its sides, and planted them with musketeers, so as to render the passage both difficult and dangerous. Behind these were erected a battery of seven large cannon, to support the fire from the trenches; and at the windmills behind Leipzig,

fourteen smaller field-pieces were ranged on an eminence, from which they could sweep great part of the plain. The infantry, divided only into five unwieldy battalions, was ranged at the distance of 300 paces behind the road, and the cavalry covered the flanks. All the baggage was sent to Leipzig, not to interfere with the movements of the army; and nothing but the ammunition-waggon remained, which were placed in rear of the line. All these arrangements were made during the darkness of the night; and when the morning dawned, every thing was in readiness for the reception of the enemy.

On the evening of the same day, Gustavus Adolphus appeared on the opposite plain, and placed his army in order of battle. His disposition was the same as that by which he had been victorious the year before at Leipzig. Small squadrons of horse were interspersed through the infantry, and troops of musketeers placed here and there among the cavalry. The army was arranged in two lines, the canal on the right and in its rear, the high road in front, and the town of Lutzen on the left. The infantry was placed in the centre, under the command of Count Brahe; the cavalry on the wings; the artillery in front. The command of the German cavalry of the left wing was intrusted to the heroic Bernard, Duke of Weimar, while on the right the King led on the Swedes in person, in order to excite the mutual rivalry of the two nations to deeds of generous emulation. The second line was arranged in the same manner, and behind these was placed a *corps de reserve*, under the command of Henderson, a Scotsman.

In this position they awaited the dawn of morn-

ing, to commence a contest, which the long delay, rather than the importance of its probable consequences, and the selection, rather than the number of the combatants, rendered remarkable and terrible. The expectations of Europe, disappointed before Nuremberg, were now to be fulfilled on the plains of Lutzen. Two generals so equal in importance, in renown, and ability, had not yet been opposed to each other during the whole course of the war. Courage had not yet been startled by so awful a hazard, or hope animated by so glorious a prize. Europe was next day to know who was its greatest general;—the leader, who had hitherto been invincible, to acknowledge a victor. This morning was to decide whether the victories of Gustavus at Leipzig and on the Lech were owing to his own genius, or the incompetency of his opponent: whether the services of Friedland were to vindicate the Emperor's choice, and to justify the high price at which they had been purchased. The victory was doubtful, but certain the labour and the bloodshed by which it must be earned. Each army knew the enemy to which it was to be opposed; and the anxiety which each in vain attempted to conceal, afforded a convincing proof of their reciprocal strength.

At last the dreaded morning dawned; but an impenetrable fog which brooded over the field of battle, delayed the attack till noon. The King, kneeling in front of his army, offered up his devotions; while the whole army, also on their knees, joined in a moving hymn, accompanied by martial music. The King then mounted his horse, and clad only in a leathern doublet and surtout (for an wound

he had formerly received would not allow him to wear armour), rode along the ranks, to animate the bosoms of the soldiers with a courage and confidence which the foreboding presentiment of his own heart contradicted. "God with us!" was the word on the part of the Swedes; "Jesus Maria!" on that of the Imperialists. About eleven the fog began to clear up, and the enemy became visible. At the same moment Lutzen was discovered in flames, having been set on fire by order of the Duke, to prevent his being outflanked on that side. The charge was sounded; the cavalry rushed against the enemy, and the infantry marched forward against the trenches.

Received by a terrible fire of musketry and heavy artillery, these intrepid battalions maintained the attack, till the enemy's musketeers abandoned their posts, the trenches were passed, the battery carried, and the cannon turned against the enemy. They pressed forward with irresistible impetuosity; the first of the five Imperial brigades was routed, the second thrown into confusion, and the third was already preparing for flight. But here Wallenstein's presence of mind exerted itself. He flew with the rapidity of lightning to the spot, to restore order among the troops; and his powerful word was itself sufficient to stop the flight of the fugitives. Supported by three regiments of cavalry, the vanquished brigades formed anew, faced the enemy, and attacked the broken ranks of the Swedes. A murderous conflict ensued. The nearness of the enemy left no room for fire-arms, the fury of the attack no time for loading; man fought against man; the useless musket was exchanged for the sword and the pike, and art gave

place to the reckless energy of despair. Overpowered by numbers, the wearied Swedes at last retired beyond the trenches; and the battery which they had captured was again lost by their retreat. A thousand mangled bodies already strewed the field, and yet no step of ground had been gained.

Meantime, the King's right wing, led on by himself, had attacked the left of the enemy. The first impetuous shock of the Finland cuirassiers scattered the lightly-mounted Polanders and Croats who were placed upon this wing, and their disorderly flight spread terror and confusion among the rest of the cavalry. At this moment the King received the intelligence that his infantry were retiring across the trenches, and also that his left wing was severely annoyed, and already wavering from the fire of the artillery at the windmills. With rapid decision, he left to General Horn the task of pursuing the vanquished left of the enemy, while he flew, at the head of the regiment of Steinbock, to repair the disorder of his right wing. His horse bore him, with the speed of light, across the trenches, but the passage was more difficult for the squadrons that followed, and only a few horsemen, among whom was Francis Albert, Duke of Saxe Lauenburg, were able to keep up with the King. He spurred directly towards the place where his infantry were most closely pressed, and while he gazed around in search of an opening in the enemy's line for attack, his shortness of sight unfortunately led him too close to their ranks. An Imperial Gefreyter,\* remarking that every

\* Gefreyter, a person exempt from watching duty, nearly corresponding to the corporal.



one respectfully made way for him, immediately ordered a musketeer to take aim at him. "Fire at that man," said he, "that must be a person of distinction." The soldier fired, and the King's left arm was shattered. At that moment his squadrons came hurrying up, and a confused cry of, "The King bleeds! the King is shot!" spread terror and consternation among the troop. "It is nothing—follow me," cried the King, collecting his whole strength; but overcome by pain, and nearly fainting, he requested of the Duke of Lauenburg in French to lead him secretly out of the tumult. While the latter was moving towards the right wing with the King, and making a long circuit to conceal this discouraging sight from the disordered infantry, the King received a second shot through the back, which deprived him of his small remaining strength. "Brother," said he, with a dying voice, "I am gone; look to your own life." At the same moment he sank from his horse; pierced by several shots, and abandoned by all his attendants, he breathed his last amidst the hands of the Croatian plunderers. His charger, flying without its rider, and covered with blood, announced to the Swedish cavalry the fall of their King. They rushed madly forward to rescue his remains from the hands of the enemy. A murderous conflict took place above the corpse, till the inanimate body was covered with a heap of slain.

The dreadful intelligence soon ran through the Swedish army; but instead of dispiriting these brave soldiers, it only excited them to a new, a wilder, and more destructive fury. Life seemed to have lost its value, now that the most sacred



life of all had fled; Death had no terrors, for the lowly since the monarch had fallen beneath his hand. The regiments of Upland, Småland, Finland, East and West Gothland, rushed like lions a second time against the left wing of the enemy, which had offered but a feeble resistance to General Horn, and was now entirely beaten out of the field. Bernard, Duke of Saxe-Weimar, gave to the bereaved Swedes a noble leader in his own person; and the spirit of Gustavus seemed anew to animate his victorious squadrons. The left wing was speedily rallied, and pressed hard against the right of the Imperialists. The artillery at the windmills, which had kept up such a murderous fire against the Swedes, fell into their hands, and its thunders were directed against the enemy. The centre of the Swedish infantry, under the command of Bernard and Knipphausen, advanced a second time against the trenches, which they successfully passed, and a second time they made themselves masters of the battery of seven cannons. The attack was now renewed with redoubled vehemence upon the heavy battalions of the enemy's centre; their resistance gradually became less and less; and chance itself seemed to conspire with the efforts of the Swedes to complete their defeat. The Imperial powder-wagons took fire, and the grenades and bombs were blown with a tremendous explosion into the air. The enemy, now in confusion, thought they were attacked in the rear, while the Swedish brigades pressed them in front. Their courage failed. They saw their left wing defeated, their right on the point of giving way, their artillery in the enemy's hands. The battle seemed to be almost de-

cided ; the fate of the day depended on a single moment ;—and in that moment Pappenheim appeared on the field with his cuirassiers and dragoons ; every advantage was lost, and the battle was begun anew.

The order which recalled that general to Lutzen had reached him in Halle, while his troops were still engaged in plundering that town. It was impossible to collect the scattered infantry with that rapidity which the pressing urgency of the order, and the impatience of Pappenheim himself required. Without waiting for them, therefore, he ordered eight regiments of cavalry to mount, and at their head he advanced at full gallop to Lutzen, to share in the battle. He arrived just in time to witness the flight of the Imperial right wing before Gustavus Horn, and to find himself at first involved in their rout. But with rapid presence of mind, he rallied the fugitives, and led them anew against the enemy. Carried away by his impetuous bravery, and impatient to encounter the King, whom he expected to find at the head of this wing, he burst furiously into the Swedish ranks, which, exhausted by the victory they had already obtained, and inferior in numbers, were overpowered by this new host of enemies, after a noble resistance. The unexpected appearance of Pappenheim reanimated the expiring courage of the Imperialists, and the Duke of Friedland rapidly availed himself of this favourable moment to form his line again. The close-ranged battalions of the Swedes were, after a tremendous conflict, again repulsed across the trenches, and the battery, which had been twice captured, rescued from their hands. The whole yellow regi-

ment, the finest of all which distinguished themselves in this dreadful day, lay dead upon the spot, covering the field almost in the same order, which they had so nobly maintained while alive. Another regiment, in blue, shared the same fate, which Count Piccolomini attacked with the Imperial cavalry and overcame after a desperate contest. Seven times did this intrepid general renew the attack ; seven horses were shot under him, and he himself was pierced with six musket-balls. Yet he would not leave the field, until compelled by the general retreat of the whole army. Wallenstein himself was seen riding through his ranks with cool intrepidity, amidst a shower of balls, assisting the distressed, animating the brave by his example, and intimidating the wavering by his frown. His men were falling thick around him, and his own mantle was pierced by several balls. But destiny this day protected that breast, for which another weapon was reserved ; on the same field where the noble Gustavus expired, Wallenstein was not to terminate his guilty career.

Less fortunate was Pappenheim, the Telamon of the army, the bravest soldier of the church, and of the house of Austria. An ardent desire to encounter the King, carried this daring leader into the thickest of the fight, where he thought he was most likely to find his noble opponent. Gustavus had also expressed his wish to meet his brave antagonist, but these hostile desires remained ungratified ; the heroes, for the first time, met in death. Two musket-balls pierced the heart of Pappenheim ; and he was forcibly carried, by his soldiers, out of the field. While they were engaged in conveying him to the rear, a murmur

reached his ear, that he whom he had sought, lay dead upon the plain. When assured of the truth of this intelligence, his look became brighter, his dying eye sparkled with a gleam of joy. "Tell the Duke of Friedland," said he, "that I am mortally wounded, but that I die happy, since I know that the implacable enemy of my faith has fallen on the same day."

With Pappenheim vanished the good fortune of the Imperialists. No sooner did the cavalry of the right wing, already beaten, and only rallied by his exertions, miss their victorious leader, than they gave up every thing for lost, and abandoned the field of battle in despair. The right wing fell into similar confusion, with the exception of a few regiments, which the bravery of their Colonels Gotz, Terzky, Colleredo, and Piccolomini, compelled to keep their ground. The Swedish infantry, with great promptitude, availed themselves of the enemy's confusion. To fill up the gaps which death had made in these ranks, they formed both lines into one, and made a last decisive charge. A third time they crossed the trenches, and a third time they captured the artillery behind them. The sun was setting when the hostile lines met. The battle seemed to grow more desperate as it drew towards its close; the last efforts of strength were mutually exerted, and daring and address did their utmost to repair in these last precious minutes the fortune of the day. It was in vain; despair seemed to animate each party with superhuman strength; neither could conquer, neither would give way. The art of war seemed to exhaust its powers in one point, only to unfold some new and untried masterpiece of skill in another. Night and dark-

ness at last put a period to the battle, which the fury of the combatants would willingly have prolonged; and the contest ceased, only because each could no longer find his antagonists. Both armies separated, as if by tacit agreement; the trumpets sounded, and each party claiming the victory quitted the field.

The artillery on both sides being left by the horses, remained all night upon the field; at once the reward and the evidence of victory to him who should maintain it. But Wallenstein, in his haste to leave Leipzig and Saxony, forgot to remove his from the field. Not long after the battle was ended, Pappenheim's infantry, who had been unable to follow the rapid movements of their general, and who amounted to six regiments, appeared on the field; but the work was over. A few hours earlier, so considerable a reinforcement would probably have decided the day in favour of the Imperialists; and, even now by taking possession of the field of battle, they might have saved the Duke's artillery, and captured that of the Swedes. But they had received no orders to act; and, uncertain as to the issue of the battle, they retired to Leipzig, where they expected to find the main army.

The Duke of Friedland had retreated thither, and was followed the next day by the scattered remains of his army, without artillery, without colours, and almost without arms. The Duke of Weimar, it appears, allowed the Swedish army some repose after the toils of this bloody day, between Lutzen and Weissenfels, near enough to the field of battle, to frustrate any attempt of the enemy to take possession of it. More than 9000

men of both armies lay dead upon the field; the number of the wounded was much greater, and among the Imperialists scarcely a man escaped uninjured from the field. The whole plain from Lutzen to the Canal was covered with the wounded, the dead, and the dying. Many of the principal nobility had fallen on both sides. Even the Abbot of Fulda, who had mingled in the combat as a spectator, paid for his curiosity and his ill-timed zeal with his life. History is silent as to prisoners; an additional proof of the fury of the combatants, who neither gave nor took quarter.

Pappenheim died of his wounds the next day at Leipzig; an irreparable loss to the Imperial army, which this consummate general had so often led on to conquest. The battle of Prague, at which he was present as colonel, along with Wallenstein, was the commencement of his heroic career. Though dangerously wounded, he impetuously attacked a hostile regiment, and lay for several hours blended with the dead upon the field, beneath the weight of his horse, till discovered by his own soldiers in plundering. With a small force he vanquished the rebels in Upper Austria, amounting to 4000 men, in three different battles. At the battle of Leipzig, he for a long time delayed the defeat of Tilly by his<sup>r</sup> bravery, and rendered the arms of the Emperor victorious on the Elbe and the Rhine. The wild and impetuous fire of his temperament, which no danger however dreadful could dismay, and which led him almost to attempt impossibilities, rendered him the most formidable arm of the Imperial force, but unfitted him for acting at its head. The loss of the battle of Leipzig, if Tilly may be believed, was owing

to his rashness at its commencement. He also stained his hands in blood, at the destruction of Magdeburg ; his disposition, which had been improved by youthful application, and various travels, had been darkened and rendered savage by the ferocity of war. On his forehead two red streaks were perceptible like swords, with which nature had marked him at his birth. These marks became visible at a more advanced age, as often as he was inflamed by passion ; and superstition easily persuaded itself that the future destiny of the man was thus marked upon the forehead of the child. Such a servant had the strongest claims to the gratitude of both the Austrian houses, but he did not live to receive the most brilliant mark of their regard. The messenger was already on his way to him from Madrid with the order of the Golden Fleece, when death overtook him at Leipzig.

Though *Te Deum* was sung in honour of the victory in all the Spanish and Austrian dominions, Wallenstein himself, by the rapidity with which he left Leipzig, and soon after the whole of Saxony, and by abandoning his intention of taking up his winter-quarters in that country, openly confessed his defeat. It is true he made a feeble attempt, even in his flight, to dispute the palm of victory, by sending out his Croats next morning to the field ; but the sight of the Swedish army which stood in battle array, immediately dispersed these flying bands, and Duke Bernard, by keeping possession of the field, and soon after by the capture of Leipzig, retained the undisputed right to the title of victor.

But the triumph was a melancholy one, the victory dearly bought ! Now first when the fury



of conflict was over, was felt the full weight of the loss they had sustained, and the shout of triumph died away into the gloomy and mournful tone of despair. He who had led them forth to the fight, returned not with them : He lay upon that field which he had gained, amidst the dead bodies of the common crowd. After a long, and for a time ineffectual search, the corpse of the King was discovered, not far from the great stone, which, for a hundred years before, had stood between Lutzen and the Canal, and which, from the memorable disaster of that day, still bears the name of the Stone of the Swede. Covered with blood and wounds so as to be scarcely recognised, trampled beneath the hoofs of the cavalry, deprived of its ornaments and clothes by the rude hands of the plunderers, his body was drawn from beneath a heap of dead, conveyed to Weissenfels, and there delivered up to the lamentations of the army, and the last embraces of his queen. The first tribute was paid to vengeance, and blood had atoned for the blood of the monarch ; the next was due to affection, and tears of grief were now shed for the man. Individual griefs were lost in the universal lamentation. The generals, still paralysed by the unexpected blow, stood speechless and motionless around his bier, and shrunk from contemplating the full extent of the calamity that had befallen them.

The Emperor, we are informed by Khevenhuller, displayed signs of deep, and apparently sincere emotion, at the sight of the King's doublet covered with blood, which had been taken from him during the battle, and conveyed to Vienna. " Willingly," said he, " would I have granted to the unfortunate prince a longer life,

and a safe return to his kingdom, had Germany been at peace." But when a more modern Catholic writer, of acknowledged merit, considers this proof of a lingering trace of human feeling in the character of Ferdinand, (a feeling which would have been called forth by a regard for appearances alone, which mere self-love would have extorted from the most insensible, and the absence of which could exist only in the most inhuman heart), as worthy of the highest eulogium, and compares it with the magnanimity of Alexander, in regard to the memory of Darius, it excites our distrust as to the other virtues of his hero, and what is still worse, in his own ideas of moral dignity. But even such an eulogium is much for one, whom his biographer finds it necessary to exculpate from the suspicion of being concerned in the assassination of a King.

It was scarcely to be expected that the strong leaning of mankind to the marvellous, would admit that the fate of Gustavus Adolphus took place in the common course of nature. The death of this formidable rival was an event of too great importance for the Emperor, not to excite in the opposite party the suspicion, that what was so favourable to his interests, had been also the result of his instigation. But for the execution of this dark deed, the Emperor required the assistance of a foreign arm: and it was generally believed that Francis, Duke of Saxe Lauenburg, was the instrument he had employed. The rank of the latter permitted him a free and unsuspected access to the King, while it at the same time seemed to place him above the suspicion of such a crime. It

now requires, however, to be shown that this prince was capable of this atrocity, and that he had any sufficient motives for its commission.

Francis Albert, the youngest of four sons of Frances II., Duke of Lauenburg, and related by the mother's side, to the race of Vasa, had, in his early years, been hospitably received at the Swedish court. Some impropriety, of which he had been guilty in the Queen's chamber against Gustavus Adolphus, it is said was repaid by this fiery youth with a box on the ear; which though repented of at the time, and most satisfactorily atoned for, laid the foundation of an irreconcilable enmity in the avengeful disposition of the Duke. Francis Albert subsequently entered the Imperial service, where he obtained the command of a regiment, entered into the closest intimacy with Wallenstein, and allowed himself to be made the instrument of a secret negotiation at the Saxon Court, which did little honour to his rank. Without assigning any sufficient cause, he suddenly left the Austrian service, and appeared in the King's camp at Nuremberg, to offer his services as a volunteer. By his zeal for the Protestant cause, and a prepossessing and flattering deportment, he gained the heart of the King, who, in spite of the warnings of Oxenstiern, continued to lavish his favour and friendship on this suspicious new comer. The battle of Lutzen soon followed, in which it was observed, that Francis Albert, like an evil genius, never left the King's side till he fell. His safety amidst the fire of the enemy might be accounted for by the green sash which he wore, the colour of the Imperialists. He was the first who conveyed to Wallenstein the intelli-

gence of the King's death. After the battle he exchanged the Swedish service for the Saxon; and being accused, after the murder of Wallenstein, of being an accomplice of that general, he escaped the sword of justice only by abjuring his faith. He finally appeared as commander of an Imperial army in Silesia, and died at last of the wounds he had received before Schweidnitz. It requires some effort to acquit a man, who had run through a career like this, of the act charged against him; but though it is thus evident that the crime might, both morally and physically, have been committed by him, it is equally evident that there are no grounds for imputing to him, with any certainty, its actual execution. Gustavus Adolphus, it is well known, exposed himself to danger, like the meanest soldier in his army, and where thousands fell, his death was not extraordinary. How he met his fate, is still buried in mystery; but in a case like this, the maxim is peculiarly applicable, that where the ordinary course of things is fully sufficient to account for the fact, the dignity of human nature ought not to be sullied, by admitting the suspicion of so atrocious a crime.

But by whatever hand he fell, this extraordinary destiny must appear to us a great interposition of Providence. History, so often engaged in the ungrateful task of analyzing the uniform course of human passions, is sometimes gratified by the appearance of events, which strike like a hand from heaven, into the calculated machinery of human affairs; and recall to the contemplative mind the idea of a higher order of things. Such appears to us the sudden vanishing of Gustavus Adolphus from

the scene ;—stopping for a time the whole movement of the political machine, and frustrating all the calculations of human prudence. But yesterday, the animating spirit, the great, the sole mover of his own creation ; to-day, levelled with the dust in the midst of his towering flight ; untimely torn from the world of enterprise, and from the unripened harvest of his hopes, he left his party inconsolable ; and the proud edifice of his past greatness sunk into ruins. With difficulty could the Protestant party wean themselves from those hopes which they had identified with their great leader ; their good fortune they now feared was buried with him. But perhaps it was no longer the benefactor of Germany who fell at Lutzen : the beneficent part of his career Gustavus Adolphus had already terminated ; and now the greatest service which he could render to the liberties of Germany was—to die. The all-engrossing power of an individual was at an end ; but in his room many stepped forward to exercise their strength ; the suspicious assistance of a too powerful protector gave place to more noble self-exertion ; and those who were formerly the mere instruments of his aggrandizement, now began to labour for themselves. They now sought for these resources in their own resolution, which they could not receive without danger from so powerful a hand ; and the Swedish power, no longer capable of acting the oppressor, was henceforth confined to the more modest part of an ally.

The ambition of the Swedish monarch unquestionably aimed at the establishment of a power within Germany, which was inconsistent with the liberties of the States, and at the attainment of a

permanent hold in the centre of the empire. His ultimate object was the possession of the Imperial crown ; and this dignity, supported by his power, and rendered effective by his energy and activity, was capable of being more abused than it had been even in the hands of the House of Austria. Born in a foreign country, educated in the maxims of arbitrary power, and in principle a determined enemy to Popery, he was ill fitted to preserve inviolable the constitution of the German States, or to maintain their liberties. The coercive homage which Augsburg, as well as several of her cities, was obliged to pay to the Swedish crown, betrayed the conqueror more than the protector of the empire ; and this town, prouder of the title of a royal city, than of the higher dignity of a free town of the empire, flattered itself with the hope of becoming the capital of his intended kingdom. His open attempts upon the Electorate of Mentz, which he first intended to bestow upon the Elector of Brandenburg, as the dower of his daughter Christina, and afterwards destined for his chancellor and friend Oxenstiern, plainly showed what liberties he was disposed to take with the constitution of the empire. The Protestant princes, his confederates, had claims on his gratitude, which could be satisfied only at the expense of their Catholic neighbours, and particularly of the immediate Ecclesiastical Chapters ; and perhaps a plan was already formed for dividing the conquered provinces (in the manner of those barbarian hordes who overran the German empire), as a common spoil, among his German and Swedish confederates. In his conduct towards

the Elector Palatine, he entirely belied the magnanimity of the hero, and forgot the sacred duty of the Protector. The Palatinate was in his hands, and justice and honour equally required of him, fully and immediately to restore this province, which he had rescued from the Spaniards, to its legitimate sovereign. But, by a subtlety unworthy of a great mind, and disgraceful to the noble character of protector of the oppressed, he eluded that obligation. He treated the Palatinate as a conquest he had made from the enemy, and thought that this circumstance gave him a right to deal with it as he pleased. He surrendered it to the Elector as a favour, not as a debt ; and that too as a Swedish fief, fettered by conditions which diminished half its value, and sunk this unfortunate Prince into a despicable dependent of Sweden. One of these conditions to which the Elector was obliged to subscribe was, that, after the conclusion of the war, he should be bound, along with the other princes, to furnish his contribution for maintaining part of the Swedish army ;—a condition which plainly shows the fate which awaited Germany in the event of the ultimate success of the King. His sudden disappearance secured the liberties of Germany, and saved his own reputation ; while it probably spared him the mortification of seeing his own allies in arms against him, and all the fruits of his victories lost by a disadvantageous peace. Saxony was already disposed to abandon him, Denmark regarded his greatness with uneasiness and jealousy ; and even France, his most powerful ally, terrified at the rapid growth of his greatness and the imperious



tone which he assumed, looked around her, from the moment he past the Lech, for foreign alliances, by whose assistance she might check the progress of the Goths, and restore the balance of power in Europe.

# HISTORY

## OF THE

### THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

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#### BOOK IV.

THE weak bond of unity, created by Gustavus Adolphus among the Protestant members of the empire, was dissolved by his death; the allies would now be again left at liberty, or their alliance must be formed anew. By the first step they lost all the advantages they had obtained at the expense of so much bloodshed, and exposed themselves to the inevitable danger of becoming the prey of an enemy, whom they had opposed and overmastered only by their union. Neither Sweden nor any of the States of the empire were individually able to cope with the Emperor and the League; and, by attempting a peace at present, they would necessarily be obliged to receive laws from the enemy. Union was therefore

equally indispensable, either for concluding a peace or continuing the war. But any peace obtained under the present circumstances must be a disadvantageous one to the allied powers. The death of Gustavus Adolphus inspired the enemy with new hopes ; and, however unfavourable the situation of his affairs after the battle of Leipzig, the death of his dreaded rival was an event too disastrous to the confederates, and too favourable for the Emperor, not to justify the most brilliant expectations on his part, and to encourage him to the prosecution of the war. A temporary division among the allies must be its necessary consequence, and what advantages might not the Emperor and the League derive from such a division ? He could not be expected to sacrifice the prospects held out to him by the present situation of affairs for any peace, except one highly advantageous to himself ; and such a peace the allies were equally unwilling to enter into. They naturally resolved, therefore, to continue the war, and the maintenance of their union was acknowledged to be indispensable for that purpose.

But how was this union to be renewed ? and whence were the resources for continuing the war to be derived ? It was not the power of Sweden, but the genius and personal influence of its deceased sovereign, which had given him so overwhelming an influence in Germany, so universal a command over the dispositions of men ; and after all, he had only succeeded with the greatest difficulty in establishing a weak and insecure bond of unity among the states. With his death vanished all, which his personal influence alone had rendered

practicable ; and the unity of the States ceased with the hopes on which it had been founded. Several of them impatiently threw off the yoke which had always been irksome to them ; others hastened to take possession of that authority which they had unwillingly seen in the hands of Gustavus, but of which, during his lifetime, they did not dare to deprive him. Some were tempted by the seductive promises of the Emperor, to abandon the alliance ; others wearied out by the calamities of a fourteen years' war, longed for the repose of peace, upon any terms, however ruinous. The generals of the army, partly German princes, acknowledged no common head, and none would submit to receive orders from the other. Unity vanished alike from the cabinet and the field, and their common existence was threatened with ruin, by the spirit of division among its members.

Gustavus had left no male heir to the crown of Sweden : his daughter Christina, then six years old, was the natural heir. The unavoidable defects of a regency, were ill suited to the display of that energy and resolution which Sweden was called upon to exert in this trying conjuncture. The wide reaching mind of Gustavus Adolphus had raised this unimportant and hitherto unknown kingdom to a rank among the states of Europe, which it could not maintain without the good fortune and talents of its great head, nor resign without a shameful confession of its weakness. Though the German war had been principally maintained from the resources of Germany, yet even the small contribution of men and money which Sweden furnished from its own means, was sufficient to ex-

haust the finances of that poor kingdom, and the peasantry were oppressed by the impositions necessarily laid upon them. The plunder gained in Germany enriched only some individuals among the nobles and the soldiers, while Sweden itself remained poor as before. For a time the national vanity of the subject rendered these burdens supportable, and the sums exacted from them might be considered as a loan placed at interest in the fortunate hand of Gustavus Adolphus, to be richly repaid by the grateful monarch after the conclusion of a glorious peace. But this hope vanished with the King's death, and the deluded people now loudly demanded relief from their burdens.

But the spirit of Gustavus Adolphus still lived in the men to whom he had intrusted the administration of the kingdom. However dreadful the intelligence of his death was to them, it did not deprive them of their resolution; and the spirit of ancient Rome, under the invasion of Brennius and Hannibal, animated this noble assembly. The Swedish Council of State, compelled to choose between the miseries of a doubtful and exhausting war, and a profitable but disgraceful peace, nobly espoused the side of danger and of honour; and this venerable Senate was seen, with astonishment, to act with all the energy and enthusiasm of youth. Surrounded with watchful enemies, both within and without, and threatened with dangers on every side, they armed themselves against them all with equal prudence and heroism, and laboured to extend their kingdom, even at the moment when they were called on to struggle for its existence.

The decease of the King, and the minority of his daughter Christina, renewed the claims of Po-

land on the Swedish throne ; and King Ladislaus, the son of Sigismund, spared no intrigues to form a party in that kingdom. On this ground the regency lost no time in acknowledging the young Queen of six years old as their sovereign, and arranging the administration of the kingdom. All the officers of the kingdom were summoned to do homage to their new Princess ;—all correspondence with Poland prohibited, and the edict of the late monarch against the heirs of Sigismund solemnly confirmed. The alliance with the Czar of Muscovy was carefully renewed, in order, by the assistance of his arms, to keep Poland in check. The death of Gustavus Adolphus had put an end to the jealousy of Denmark, and removed the grounds which had impeded the good understanding of these two States. The efforts of the enemy to stir up Christian IV. against Sweden were no longer countenanced ; and the strong wish entertained by him to match his son Ulrick with the young Princess, combined, with the dictates of a sounder policy, to incline him to a neutrality. England, Holland, and France came forward with the most favourable assurances of their continued friendship and support to the regency, and encouraged them with one voice to prosecute with activity the war which they had hitherto conducted so nobly. Whatever cause France might have to congratulate itself on the death of the Swedish conqueror, it was fully aware of the necessity of maintaining the alliance with Sweden. It could not allow the power of Sweden to sink in Germany, without imminent danger to itself. Destitute of resources of its own, Sweden would either be driven to conclude a hasty and disadvantageous peace with Aus-

tria, and thus all those efforts which had been made to lower the ascendancy of this dangerous power would be in vain ; or necessity and despair would compel them to extort the means of support from the territories of the Catholic States, and France would then be regarded as the betrayer of those States who had placed themselves under her powerful protection. The death of Gustavus, far from dissolving the alliance between France and Sweden, had only rendered it more necessary for both, and more profitable for France. It was now for the first time, since the death of him who had stretched his protecting arm over Germany, and guarded his frontiers against the encroachments of France, that the latter could securely prosecute its designs against Alsace, and thus be enabled to sell its aid at a dearer rate to the German Protestants.

Strengthened by these alliances, secured in its interior, and defended by strong frontier garrisons and fleets from without, the Regency did not for an instant hesitate to continue a war by which Sweden had little of its own to lose, while, if success attended its arms, some of the German provinces, either as a conquest, or indemnification of its expences, might reward its perseverance. Secure amidst its seas, Sweden was scarcely exposed to greater danger, even if driven out of Germany, than if it voluntarily retired from the contest, while the former measure was as honourable as the latter was disgraceful.

The more consistency they displayed, the more confidence they inspired among their confederates, the more respect among their enemies, the more favourable conditions they might antici-



pate, in the event of a peace. If they were too weak to execute the comprehensive projects of Gustavus, they at least owed it to his example to do their utmost, and to yield to nothing short of absolute necessity. It is to be regretted that self-interest had too great a share in this noble resolve, to allow us to bestow upon it our unqualified admiration. It was easy for those who had nothing themselves to suffer, from the miseries of war, but were rather enriched by it, to resolve upon its continuation ; for it was the German empire that finally defrayed the expenses of the war ; and the provinces, on the future possession of which they calculated would be cheaply purchased at the expense of the few troops they furnished, the generals who were placed at the head of armies principally German, and the honourable superintendence both of the military and political operations of the war.

But this superintendence was irreconcilable with the distance of the Swedish Regency from the seat of war, and with the tediousness inseparable from the forms of the Council.

A single comprehensive mind must be intrusted with the task of managing the interests of Sweden and Germany, and with the superintendence of war and peace, with the necessary alliances and the requisite levies. This important magistrate must be invested with dictatorial power, and with the whole influence of the crown which he represented, in order to maintain its dignity, to reduce to unity the common operations, to give effect to his orders, and to supply the place of the monarch whom he succeeded. Such a man was found in the Chancellor Oxenstierna, the

first minister, and it may be added, the friend of the deceased King, who, acquainted with all the secrets of his master, versed in the politics of Germany, and in the relations of all the states of Europe, was unquestionably the man best qualified to prosecute the plans of Gustavus Adolphus, to their full extent.

Oxenstiern was engaged in a journey to Upper Germany, in order to assemble the four Upper Circles, when the news of the King's death reached him at Hanau. This blow which pierced the afflicted heart of the friend, deprived the statesman of all self-possession, every thing to which he was attached seemed taken from him. Sweden had lost but a king, Germany a protector, but Oxenstiern had been deprived of the author of his good fortune, the friend of his soul, the object of his admiration. But while he was thus the deepest sufferer in the common calamity, he was also the first whose energy enabled him to rise above the blow, as he was the only one who was able to repair its consequences. His penetration and glance foresaw all the obstacles which opposed the execution of his plans, the discouragement of the States, the intrigues of hostile courts, the defection of confederates, the jealousy of the leaders, and the aversion of the princes of the empire to submit to foreign authority. But this profound examination of the existing state of circumstances, while it discovered to him the whole extent of the evil, showed him also the means by which it might be remedied. He had now to reanimate the sinking courage of the weaker states, to oppose the secret machinations of the enemy, to appease the jealousy of the more powerful allies, to excite the friendly

powers, and France in particular, to active assistance, but above all, to repair the ruined edifice of the German confederacy, and reunite the scattered strength of the party by a close and permanent bond of union. The confusion into which the German Protestants were thrown by the loss of their head, might as readily dispose them to a closer alliance with Sweden, as to a hasty peace with the Emperor; and it seemed entirely to depend upon the course he might pursue, which of these alternatives they would embrace. Every thing was lost by the smallest display of apprehension, nothing but the confidence which Sweden showed in herself could excite a similar self-confidence among the Germans. All the attempts of the Austrian Court to alienate these princes from the Swedish alliance would be fruitless, if he could open their eyes to their true advantage, and instigate them to an open and formal breach with the Emperor.

It is true that, before these measures could be taken, and the necessary arrangements made between the Regency and their minister, a precious opportunity of activity was lost to the Swedes, of which the enemy did not fail to avail themselves to the utmost. It was in the power of the Emperor, had he followed the prudent councils of the Duke of Friedland, to have at once ruined the affairs of Sweden in Germany. Wallenstein advised him to offer an unqualified amnesty, and to meet the Protestant States with favourable conditions. In the first alarm, which the fall of Gustavus Adolphus created in that party, such a declaration would have produced the strongest effects, and would have probably brought back the pliant

and wavering States to their allegiance to the Emperor. But dazzled by this unexpected good fortune, and deluded by Spanish counsels, he anticipated a more brilliant issue by means of arms, and, instead of listening to proposals of accommodation, he hastened to increase his strength. Spain, enriched by the grant of the tenth of the Ecclesiastical possessions, to which the Pope consented, supported him with considerable supplies, negotiated for him at the Saxon Court, and levied troops for him in Italy to be employed in Germany. The Elector of Bavaria also considerably increased his military force; and the restless disposition of the Duke of Lorraine, did not permit him to remain inactive amidst this favourable change of fortune. But while the enemy were thus labouring to profit by the disaster of Sweden, Oxenstiern spared no effort to avert its most fatal consequences.

Less apprehensive of his open enemies than of the jealousy of the friendly powers, he left Upper Germany, which he had secured by the conquests he had made, and the alliances he had formed, and set out in person to prevent a total defection of the Lower German States, or a private alliance among themselves, which would have been almost equally pernicious to Sweden. Irritated at the boldness with which the Chancellor assumed the direction of affairs, and exasperated at the thought of being dictated to by a Swedish nobleman, the Elector of Saxony again meditated a dangerous separation from Sweden; and the only question seemed to be, whether he would completely unite with the Emperor, or place himself at the head of the Protestants and form a third party in Germany. Similar views were entertained by Duke Ulric of

Brunswick, who openly expressed them by prohibiting the Swedes from recruiting within his dominions, and inviting the Lower Saxon States to Luneburg for the purpose of forming a mutual confederacy. The Elector of Brandenburg alone, jealous of the influence which Saxony was likely to attain in Lower Germany, manifested any zeal for the interests of the Swedish throne, which he already in thought destined for his son. Oxenstiern no doubt received the most honourable reception at the court of John George, but empty promises of continued friendship were all which, notwithstanding the personal efforts of the Elector of Brandenburg, he was able to obtain. He was more successful with the Duke of Brunswick, with whom he ventured to adopt a bolder tone. Sweden was at that time in possession of the Archbishoprick of Magdeburg, the Bishop of which had the power of assembling the Lower Saxon Circle. The Chancellor now maintained the rights of the crown, and by this well-timed and spirited interference, prevented for the present this dangerous assembly. He failed, however, both now and for ever, in establishing that general confederacy of the Protestants, which was the main object of his present journey, and of his future endeavours, and was obliged to content himself with some unsteady alliances in the Saxon Circles, and with the weaker assistance of Upper Germany.

As the Bavarians were too powerful on the Danube, the assembly of the four Upper Circles which should have taken place at Ulm, was removed to Heilbronn, where the Deputies <sup>atle.</sup> more than twelve cities of the empire, with and wou.

a brilliant crowd of doctors, counts, and princes, were present. The ambassadors of foreign powers too, France, England, and Holland, attended this Congress, at which Oxenstiern appeared in person, with all the pomp of the throne of which he was the representative. He himself opened the proceedings, and took the lead in the deliberations. After receiving from all the assembled States assurances of unshaken fidelity, perseverance, and unity, he required of them solemnly and formally to declare the Emperor and the League as enemies. But important as it was for Sweden to widen the breach between the Emperor and the States into an open rupture, the States were, on the other hand, equally unwilling to exclude every chance of reconciliation, by so decisive a step, and to place themselves entirely in the hands of the Swedes. They maintained, that as the act would speak for itself, any formal declaration of war was unnecessary and superfluous, and the firmness of their resistance at last silenced the Chancellor. Warmer disputes arose with regard to the third and most important point of the treaty, which concerned the means of prosecuting the war, and the contributions to be furnished by the States for the support of the army. Oxenstiern's maxim, of throwing as much of the burden as possible on the States, was not easily reconcileable with the resolution of the States to give as little as possible. The Chancellor now experienced what thirty Emperors had found before him, to their cost, that of all difficult undertakings, the hardest of all is to extort money from the Germans. Instead of granting the necessary sums for the new armies, they expatiated upon the calamities which had befallen the former, and de-

manded relief from their former burdens, instead of submitting to new. The irritation caused among the States, by the Chancellor's demand for money, gave rise to a thousand difficulties; and the outrages of the troops, in their marches and quarterings, were dwelt upon with a startling minuteness and truth.

Oxenstiern, in the service of two absolute monarchs, had learned too little of the formality and caution of republican proceedings, to bear with patience the opposition he received. Ready to act the instant he perceived the necessity of action, and inflexible in his resolution, when it was once formed, he could not comprehend the inconsistency of men, who, while they eagerly desired the end, were so averse to the means. Naturally prompt and impetuous, he was so on this occasion from principle; for every thing depended on concealing the weakness of Sweden, by a firm and confident tone, and obtaining a *real* command over the assembly, by affecting to possess it. It was not surprising, therefore, if he found himself out of his sphere, amidst these interminable discussions with German doctors and deputies, and was almost driven to despair, by the inconstancy and irresolution which distinguish the character of the Germans in their public deliberations. Without regard to a custom, to which even the most powerful of the Emperors had been obliged to conform, he rejected all written deliberations, which suited so well with the tediousness of their character. He could not conceive how ten days could be spent in debating a measure, which he thought might be decided upon the bare statement of it. Harshly, however, as he treat-



ed the States, he found them sufficiently complaisant in granting his fourth motion, which concerned himself. When he pointed out the necessity of giving to the newly constituted League a head and a director, that honour was unanimously assigned to Sweden, while he was submissively requested to give to the common cause the benefit of his intelligence, and to take upon himself the burden of superintendence. But to prevent the abuse of the powers thus intrusted to him, a number of assistants were appointed to him (not without the influence of French councils), who were to manage the expenditure of the confederacy, and to be consulted as to the levies, marches, and quarterings of the troops. Oxenstiern strenuously resisted this limitation of his power, by which he was trammelled in the execution of every enterprise requiring promptitude or secrecy, and at last with difficulty succeeded in obtaining the uncontrolled management in affairs of war. The Chancellor finally approached the delicate point of the indemnification which Sweden expected from the gratitude of the Allies after the conclusion of the war; and flattered himself that Pomerania, the main object of Sweden, would be assigned to her, and that he would obtain from the provinces assurances of their effectual support in its acquisition. But all he could obtain was a general and vague assurance that the interests of all parties would be attended to in a general peace. That it was not mere regard for the constitution of the empire which rendered the States so cautious on this point, was evident from their liberality towards the Chancellor, at the ex-

pense of the free cities of the empire. They were on the point of bestowing upon him the archbishopric of Mentz (which he had already in his possession as a conquest), and it was with difficulty that the French ambassador succeeded in preventing a step, which was equally impolitic and disgraceful. But however inadequate the result of the Congress had been to the expectations of Oxenstiern, he had at least gained for himself and his crown his main object, namely, the direction of the whole confederacy had strengthened the bond of union between the four Upper Circles, and obtained from the States a yearly contribution of two millions and a half of dollars, for the maintenance of the army.

These concessions on the part of the States, deserved a requital on that of Sweden. A few weeks after the death of Gustavus Adolphus, the unfortunate Elector Palatine ended his days of a broken heart, after following, for eight months, the train of his protector, and expending in it the small remainder of his patrimony. He seemed, at last, to be approaching the goal of his wishes, and the prospect of a brighter future was opening to him, when death deprived him of his protector. But what he regarded as the greatest calamity, was productive of the most favourable consequences to his heirs. Gustavus might take it upon himself to delay the restoration of his dominions, or to burden the gift by oppressive conditions; but Oxenstiern, to whom the friendship of England, Holland, and Brandenburg, and the good opinion of the reformed States was of indispensable importance, was under the necessity of immediately fulfilling the obligations of justice. He therefore, at

this assembly, at Heilbronn, surrendered the whole Palatinate, both the part already conquered, and that which remained to be conquered, to the successors of the Palatine, with the exception of Mannheim, the possession of which the Swedes were to retain until indemnified for their expenses. The Chancellor did not confine his liberality to the Palatine family alone; the other allied princes received proofs, though at a later period, of the gratitude of Sweden, which that crown bestowed at so little expense to itself.

The duty of impartiality, the most sacred obligation of the historian, here compels us to a confession not very honourable to the champions of German liberty. However sincerely convinced of the justice of their cause, and the purity of their zeal, the Protestant princes might be, the motives from which they acted were in truth sufficiently selfish; and the desire of making new acquisitions had at least as great a share in the commencement of hostilities, as the fear of being deprived of their own possessions. Gustavus soon discovered, that much greater advantages might be derived from these selfish motives than from their patriotic zeal, and did not fail to avail himself of them. Each of his confederates received from him the assurance of some possession, either already extorted, or to be afterwards taken from the enemy; and death alone prevented him from fulfilling his promise. The course which prudence had suggested to the King, necessity now prescribed to his successor. If he was disposed to continue the war, it must be done by dividing the spoil among the allied princes, and promising them some advantage from the continuation of that confusion which it was his object

to cherish. Thus he promised to the Landgrave of Hesse, the abbacies of Paderborn, Corvey, Munster, and Fulda; to Duke Bernard of Weimar, the Franconian Bishoprics; to the Duke of Wirtemberg, the Ecclesiastical property and Austrian counties, lying within his territories, all under the title of fiefs of Sweden. The Chancellor himself was astonished at this spectacle, so strange and so disgraceful to the German character, and could scarcely conceal his contempt. "Let it be writ in our annals," he once exclaimed, "that a German Prince made this request of a Swedish Nobleman, and that the Swedish Nobleman granted it to the German upon German ground."

After these successful preparations, he was now in a condition to take the field and resume the war with vigour. Soon after the victory of Lutzen, the troops of Saxony and Lunenburg united with the Swedish leader; and the Imperialists were, in a short time, expelled from the whole of Saxony. The Saxons marched towards Lusatia and Silesia, to act in conjunction with Count Thurn against the Austrians, in that quarter; a part of the Swedish army was led by the Duke of Weimar into Franconia, and the other by George Duke of Brunswick, into Westphalia and Lower Saxony.

The conquests on the Lech and the Danube had been defended by the Palatine of Birkenfeld, and the Swedish General Banner, against the Bavarians, while Gustavus himself was engaged in his expedition into Saxony. But too weak to make head against the victorious progress of the Bavarians, supported as they were by the bravery and military experience of the Imperial General Altringer,

they were under the necessity of summoning the Swedish General Horn to their assistance from Alsace. This experienced general having subdued Benfeld, Schlettstadt, Colmar, and Hagenuau, committed the defence of these towns to the Rhinegrave Otto Louis, and hastened over the Rhine to form a junction with Banner's army. But although this force now amounted to 16,000 men, they could not prevent the enemy from obtaining a firm footing on the Swabian frontier, taking Kempten, and receiving a reinforcement of seven regiments from Bohemia. In order to defend the important positions of the banks of the Lech and the Danube, they were under the necessity of stripping Alsace, when the Rhinegrave Otto Louis found it difficult, after the departure of Horn, to defend himself against the exasperated peasantry. He also, with his army, was now required to reinforce the army on the Danube ; and as even this addition was insufficient, Duke Bernard of Weimar was earnestly pressed to turn his arms into this quarter.

Bernard, soon after the opening of the campaign of 1633, had made himself master of the town, and the whole territory of Bamberg, and was meditating similar designs against Wurtzburg. But on receiving the summons of General Horn, he set out without delay on his march towards the Danube, routed on his course a Bavarian army under John de Werth, and joined the Swedes near Donauwerth. This numerous force, commanded by these consummate generals, now threatened Bavaria with a formidable inroad. The whole bishopric of Eichstadt was overrun, and Ingolstadt was on the point of

being delivered up by treachery to the Swedes. Altringer's movements were fettered by the express order of the Duke of Friedland ; and left without assistance from Bohemia, he was unable to make head against the advance of the enemy. A combination of circumstances concurred to favour the Swedish arms in this quarter, where the activity of the army was at once stopped by a mutiny among the officers.

All the conquests hitherto made in Germany had been effected by arms ; the greatness of Gustavus himself was the work of the army, the fruit of their discipline, their bravery, their perseverance under danger and difficulty. However artfully his plans might be arranged in the cabinet, it was to the army he was finally indebted for their execution ; and the extent of their task increased with the extension of his views. The great success of the war had been violently obtained by a barbarous sacrifice and exposure of the soldiers in winter campaigns, marches, assaults, and pitched battles ; for it was Gustavus's maxim never to hesitate about a conquest, provided it cost him nothing but men. The soldier could not long be blind to his own importance, and he justly demanded a share in that spoil which had been purchased by his own labour and his own bloodshed. Yet he frequently could hardly obtain his actual pay ; and the greater part of the sums raised by contributions, or from conquered provinces, were swallowed up by the rapacity of individuals, or the wants of the state. The soldier had no other recompense for the toils he underwent, than the doubtful prospect either of plunder or promotion, in both of which he was frequently disappointed. The com-

bined influence of fear and hope had suppressed any open complaint during the lifetime of Gustavus Adolphus, but after his death the general discontent was loudly expressed, and the soldiery availed themselves of a most dangerous moment to convince their superiors of their importance. Two officers, Pfuhl and Mitschefal, well known as restless characters during the King's life, set the example in the camp on the Danube, and in a few days were imitated by almost all the officers of the army. They entered into a solemn engagement, to obey no orders till these arrears, now extending to months, and even to years, were paid up, and a proportional gratuity, either in money or lands, made to each. "Immense sums," they said, "were daily raised by contributions, and all dissipated by a few hands. They were called out to serve in snow and ice, and not even paid for this endless labour. The excesses of the soldiers had been blamed at Heilbronn, but no one talked of their services. The world rung with the tidings of conquests and victories, and all these were the work of their hands."

The number of the malcontents daily increased; and they now attempted, by means of letters which were fortunately intercepted, to stir up the armies on the Rhine, and in Saxony. Neither the remonstrances of Bernard of Weimar, nor the severe reproaches of his harsher associate Horn, could suppress this mutiny, while the vehemence of the latter seemed only to increase the insolence of the insurgents. They insisted that certain towns should be delivered over to each regiment, as a security for payment of their arrears. A delay of four weeks was granted to the Swedish Chancellor, to enable him



to comply with these demands; and in case of refusal, they announced that they would pay themselves, and never more draw a sword for Sweden.

This bold demand, made at a time when the military chest was exhausted, and credit at a low ebb, placed the Chancellor in the greatest embarrassment; he saw too the immediate necessity of applying a remedy before the contagion should extend to the other troops, and he should be deserted by all his armies at once. Among all the Swedish generals, there was only one possessed of sufficient authority and influence with the soldiers to heal the breach. Duke Bernard, was the favourite of the army, and his prudence and moderation had conciliated the good-will of the soldiers, as his military experience had excited their admiration. He now undertook the task of appeasing the discontented troops; but aware of his own importance, he embraced this favourable opportunity of first stipulating for himself, and rendering the present embarrassment of the Chancellor subservient to his own views.

Gustavus Adolphus had flattered him with the promise of the Dutchy of Franconia, which was to be formed out of the Bishoprics of Wurtzburg and Bamberg, and he now insisted on the fulfilment of this promise. He at the same time demanded the supreme command in war, as Generalissimo of Sweden. The abuse which the Duke of Weimar thus made of his own importance, so irritated Oxenstiern, that, in the first heat of his resentment, he thought of dismissing him from the Swedish service. But on more mature reflection, he determined, instead of sacrificing so important a leader, to attach him to the Swedish interests at

any price. He therefore granted to him the Franconian Bishoprics, as a fief of the Swedish crown, with the exception of the two fortresses of Wurtzburg and Königshofen, which were to remain in possession of the Swedes ; and at the same time engaged, in name of the Swedish crown, to maintain the Duke in possession of these territories. The supreme command over the Swedish army, which he had demanded, was evaded on some specious pretext. The Duke did not long delay to display his gratitude for this important acquisition ; his influence and activity soon restored tranquillity in the army. Large sums of money, and still more extensive estates, were divided among the officers, amounting in value to about five millions of dollars, and to which they had no other right but that of conquest. But in the mean time, the opportunity for a great undertaking had gone by, and the united leaders separated to oppose the enemy in other quarters.

Gustavus Adolphus, after his short inroad into the Upper Palatinate, and the capture of Neumark, had directed his march towards the Swabian frontier, where the Imperialists had been strongly reinforced, and were threatening Wirtemberg with a destructive invasion. Alarmed at his approach, they had retired to the Lake of Boden, but they were immediately followed by the Swedes into this quarter, which had hitherto been unvisited by war. A possession at the entrance of Switzerland, was of the greatest importance to the Swedes, and the town of Kostnitz, seemed peculiarly well fitted to be a point of communication between him and his confederate. Gustavus Horn undertook to besiege it ; but destitute of artillery, which he

was obliged to bring from Wirtemberg, he was unable to prosecute the siege with sufficient vigour, to prevent the enemy from throwing supplies into the town, which was easily accomplished from the lake. He therefore abandoned the town and its neighbourhood, after an ineffectual attempt, and hastened to meet a more pressing necessity upon the Danube.

At the Emperor's instigation, the Cardinal Infant, the brother of Philip IV. of Spain, and Viceroy of Milan, had raised an army of 14,000 men, intended to act upon the Rhine, independently of Wallenstein's orders, and to protect Alsace. This army now appeared under the command of the Duke of Feria, a Spaniard, in Bavaria; and, that they might be immediately employed against the Swedes, Altringer, with his corps, received orders to join them. On the first news of their appearance, Gustavus Horn had summoned the Palatine of Birkenfeld from the Rhine to his assistance; and, uniting with him at Stockach, boldly advanced to meet the enemy's army of 30,000 men.

The latter had taken the route across the Danube into Swabia, where Gustavus Horn approached so close, that the two armies were only separated from each other by half a mile.\* But, instead of accepting the offer of battle, the Imperialists moved by the Forest towns towards Breislau and Alsace, where they arrived in time to relieve Breysack, and to arrest the victorious progress of the Rhinegrave Otto Louis. The latter had, shortly before, taken the Forest towns, and, supported by the Palatine of Birkenfeld, who had

\* i. e. German.

liberated the Lower Palatinate, and driven the Duke of Lorraine out of the field, had once more given the preponderance to the Swedish arms in that quarter. He was now compelled to give way to the superiority of the enemy, but Horn and Birkenfeld soon advanced to his assistance; and the Imperialists, after this brief success, were again expelled from Alsace. The severity of the autumn, which they encountered in their retreat, proved fatal to most of the Italians; and their leader, the Duke of Feria, himself died of grief at the failure of his expedition.

In the mean time, Duke Bernard of Weimar, with eighteen regiments of infantry, and 140 squadrons of horse, had taken up his position on the Danube, to cover Franconia, and at the same time to watch the motions of the Imperial-Bavarian army upon this river. No sooner had Altringer stripped this quarter of its defenders, to join the Italian army of the Duke of Feria, than Bernard availed himself of his retreat, hastened across the Danube, and, with the rapidity of lightning, appeared before Ratisbon. The possession of this town would be decisive in favour of the designs of Sweden against Bavaria and Austria; it would secure them a firm footing on the Danube, and a sure refuge in case of defeat; while it alone enabled them to give permanence to their conquests in that quarter. To defend Ratisbon, was the dying advice of Tilly to the Elector; and Gustavus Adolphus lamented it as an irreparable loss, that the Bavarians had anticipated him in taking possession of this place. The terror of Maximilian was therefore indescribable, when Duke Ber-

nard suddenly appeared before the town, and prepared in earnest to besiege it.

The garrison consisted only of 15 companies, principally newly raised troops ; but that number was more than sufficient to weary out an enemy of far superior force, if supported by well inclined and warlike inhabitants. But these were the most dangerous enemies with which the Bavarian garrison had to contend. The Protestant inhabitants of Ratisbon, equally jealous of their faith and their freedom, had unwillingly submitted to the yoke of Bavaria, and had long awaited with impatience the appearance of their deliverer. Bernard's arrival before the walls filled them with the liveliest joy ; and it was much to be feared that they would support the attempts of the besiegers, by exciting an internal tumult. In this state of embarrassment, the Elector addressed the most pressing entreaties to the Emperor and the Duke of Friedland to assist him, were it only with 5000 men. Seven different messengers did Ferdinand despatch to Wallenstein, who promised immediate assistance, and actually apprised the Elector of the march of 12,000 men under Gallas ; but at the same time forbade that General, under pain of death, to set out. Meantime the Bavarian commandant of Ratisbon, in expectation of immediate relief, made every preparation for defence, armed the Catholic inhabitants, disarmed and carefully watched the Protestant citizens, so as to prevent their attempting any hostile design against the garrison. But when no relief appeared, and the enemy's artillery continued to storm the walls with unabated vehemence, he consulted his own safety and that of the garrison by an honourable capitu-

lation, and abandoned the Bavarian officers and ecclesiastics to the conqueror's mercy.

By the possession of Ratisbon the projects of the Duke expanded, and Bavaria itself now appeared too narrow a limit for his comprehensive views. He now intended to penetrate to the frontiers of Austria, to arm the Protestant peasantry against the Emperor, and restore to them their religious liberty. He had already taken Straubingen, while another Swedish general subjected the places on the banks of the Danube. At the head of his Swedes, bidding defiance to the severity of the weather, he reached the mouth of the Iser, and transported his troops before the eyes of the Bavarian General Werth, who was encamped on that river. Passau and Lintz now trembled for their fate; the terrified Emperor reiterated his requests and commands to Wallenstein, to hasten to the assistance of the hard-pressed Bavarians. But here the victorious Bernard voluntarily bounded his conquests. Having the Inn in front, which was guarded by several strong fortresses, and behind him two hostile armies, a disaffected country and the river Iser, while his rear was covered by no tenable position, and the severity of the frost permitted no entrenchments to be formed; and, threatened by the whole force of Wallenstein, who had at last resolved to march to the Danube, he made a timely retreat in order to prevent his being cut off from Ratisbon, and surrounded by the enemy. He hastened across the Iser to the Danube, to defend the conquests he had made in the Upper Palatinate against Wallenstein, and determined not to decline a battle, if necessary,

with that General. But Wallenstein, who had never contemplated any extraordinary activity on the Danube, did not wait for his approach ; and the Bavarians had hardly time to congratulate themselves on his arrival, when he suddenly turned aside into Bohemia. The Duke thus ended his victorious campaign, and allowed his troops their well-earned repose in winter-quarters in the enemy's country.

While Gustavus Horn conducted the war with such success in Swabia, the Palatine of Birkenfeld, Generals Baudissen and the Rhinegrave Otto Louis on the Upper and Lower Rhine, and Duke Bernard on the Danube ; the reputation of the Swedish arms was not less nobly maintained in Lower Saxony and Westphalia by the Duke of Lunenburg and the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel. The fortress of Hamel was taken by Duke George after a brave defence, and a brilliant victory obtained over the Imperial General Gronsfeld, by the united Swedish and Hessian armies near Oldendorf. Count Wasaburg, a natural son of Gustavus Adolphus, showed himself in this battle worthy of his origin. Sixteen cannon, the whole baggage of the Imperialists, and 74 colours, fell into the hands of the Swedes ; 3000 of the enemy fell on the spot, and nearly the same number were taken prisoners. The town of Osnaburg was taken by the Swedish Colonel Knyphausen, and Paderborn by the Landgrave of Hesse ; while, on the other hand, Bückeburg, a place of considerable importance for the Swedes, fell into the hands of the Imperialists. The Swedish banners were seen victorious in almost every quarter of Germany ; and, in the course of a year, not a trace



was visible of the loss which had been sustained in the fall of this great leader.

In reviewing the important events of the campaign of 1633, we are justly astonished at the inactivity of a man, of whom by far the highest expectations had been formed. Among all the generals who distinguished themselves in the course of this campaign, there was none who could be compared with Wallenstein, in experience, talents, and reputation : and yet, from the battle of Lutzen, down to the close of this campaign, we lose sight of him. The fall of his great rival now left the whole theatre of fame open to him ; the attention of all Europe was now exclusively directed to those exploits, which were to efface the remembrance of his defeat, and to prove to the world his military superiority. Yet he remained inactive in Bohemia, while the losses sustained by the Emperor in Bavaria, Lower Saxony, and the Rhine, pressingly demanded his presence ; equally incomprehensible by friend and foe, the terror, and yet the last hope of the Emperor. He had hastened, with unaccountable rapidity, after the defeat of Lutzen, into the kingdom of Bohemia, where he instituted the strictest inquiry into the conduct of his officers in that battle. Those who were found guilty by the council of war, were put to death without mercy ; such as had conducted themselves with bravery rewarded with princely munificence ; and the memory of the dead honoured by splendid monuments. But he continued, during the winter, to oppress the Imperial provinces by enormous contributions, and to exhaust the strength of the Austrian territories by his winter-quarters, which he purposely avoided taking up in an enemy's

country. Instead of being the first to take the field, with this well-chosen and well-appointed army, at the opening of the campaign of 1633, and to display his talents in all their strength, he was the last who appeared in the field; and even then, it was a hereditary province of Austria which he selected as the seat of war.

Among all the Austrian provinces, Silesia was exposed to the greatest danger. Three different armies, a Swedish army under Count Thurn, a Saxon, under Arnheim and the Duke of Lauenburg, and one of Brandenburg under Bergsdorf, had at the same time carried the war into this country; they had already taken possession of the most important towns, and Breslau itself had embraced the cause of the allies. But it was precisely this crowd of generals and armies that saved this province to the Emperor; for the jealousy of the generals, and the mutual dislike of the Saxons and the Swedes, never allowed them to act with unanimity. Arnheim and Thurn contended for the command; the troops of Brandenburg and Saxony combined against the Swedes, whom they looked upon as burdensome strangers, who were to be got rid of as soon as possible. The Saxons, on the contrary, lived on a far more familiar footing with the Imperialists, and the officers of both these hostile armies frequently visited and entertained each other. The Imperialists were allowed to remove their property without opposition, and many did not affect to conceal that they had received large sums from Vienna. Among such equivocal allies, the Swedes saw themselves sold and betrayed; and no enterprise of importance could be undertaken, while so bad an understand-

ing subsisted between them. General Arnheim too, was also absent the greater part of the time; and when he at last made his appearance among the army, Wallenstein was already approaching the frontiers with a formidable force.

His army amounted to 40,000 men, while the allies had only 24,000 to oppose to him. They nevertheless resolved to give him battle, and appeared before Munsterberg, where he had formed an intrenched camp. But Wallenstein remained motionless for eight days; he then left his camp, and marched with a proud and pompous composure towards the enemy. Even after leaving his intrenchments, however, and when the enemy manfully prepared to receive him, he did not avail himself of the opportunity of fighting. This extreme caution in avoiding a battle was imputed to fear; but this suspicion the well-established reputation of Wallenstein enabled him to despise. The vanity of the allies, did not allow them to perceive, that he purposely saved them a defeat, merely because a victory of them would, at that time, have been of no service to himself. But to convince them of his power, and that his inactivity proceeded from no fear of their force, he put to death the commander of a castle that fell into his hands, because he had refused at once to surrender an untenable place.

Both armies remained for nine days within musket-shot of each other, when Count Terzky, from the camp of the Imperialists, appeared with a trumpeter in that of the allies, to invite General Arnheim to a conference. The purport was, that Wallenstein, notwithstanding his superiority, pro-

posed a cessation of arms for six weeks. "He was come," he said, "to conclude a lasting peace with the Swedes, and with the princes of the empire, to pay the soldiers, and to procure them every satisfaction. All this was in his power; and if the Count hesitated to confirm his proposals, he would unite with the allies, and (as he privately whispered to Arnheim) hunt the Emperor to the devil." At the second conference, he expressed himself still more plainly to Count Thurn. "All the privileges of the Bohemians," he engaged, "should be confirmed, the exiles recalled and reinstated in their possessions, and he himself would be the first to resign his share of them. The Jesuits, and all the authors of past grievances, should be banished, the Swedes indemnified by stated payments, and all the superfluous troops on both sides employed against the Turks." The conclusion explained the whole mystery. "That if *he* should obtain the Crown of Bohemia, all the exiles would have reason to congratulate themselves on his generosity, complete toleration should be established within the kingdom, the Palatine House be restored to its rights, and he would accept the Margraviate of Moravia as a compensation for Mecklenburg. The allied armies would then, under his command, advance upon Vienna, and compel the Emperor to ratify this treaty sword in hand."

Thus was the plan disclosed at last, over which he had brooded for years in mysterious silence. Every circumstance now convinced him that not a moment was to be lost in putting it into execution. Nothing but a blind confidence in the genius and success of the Duke of Friedland had de-

terminated the Emperor, in the face of the remonstrances of Bavaria and Spain, to commit to this imperious leader so unlimited an authority. But this belief in Wallenstein's being invincible had been long shaken by his inaction, and almost entirely destroyed by the defeat at Lutzen. His rivals at the Imperial Court now renewed their intrigues ; and the Emperor's disappointment at the failure of his hopes procured for their remonstrances a favourable reception with that monarch. The whole conduct of the Duke was now reviewed with the most malicious criticism ; his haughtiness and presumption ; his disobedience to the Emperor's orders, were recalled to the recollection of that jealous prince ; the complaints of the Austrian subjects against his boundless oppression recapitulated ; his fidelity questioned, and alarming hints thrown out as to his secret views. These complaints, which the conduct of the Duke was but too well calculated so justify, did not fail to make a deep impression on Ferdinand's mind ; but the step had been taken, and the power with which he had invested Wallenstein could not be wrested from him without danger. To diminish that power insensibly was the only course that now remained to him ; and, in order to effect this, it must in the first place be divided, and that dependence on the good will of his general, to which he was now subjected, put an end to. But even this right had been abandoned by his contract with Wallenstein, and the Emperor's own handwriting protected him against every attempt to unite another general with him in the command, or to exercise any immediate influence over the troops. As this disadvantageous compact could neither be exactly kept nor o-

penly broken, the Emperor was obliged to have recourse to stratagem. Wallenstein was Imperial Generalissimo in Germany, but his power extended no farther ; and he could exercise no authority over a foreign army. A Spanish army was accordingly raised in Milan, and marched into Germany under a Spanish general. Wallenstein now ceased to be indispensable, because he ceased to be alone ; in case of necessity, the Emperor was now provided with the means of support against him.

The Duke rapidly and deeply felt whence this blow came, and whither it was directed. In vain did he protest against this illegal innovation, to the Cardinal Infant ; the Italian army continued its march, and he was obliged to detach General Altringer to join it with a reinforcement. He took care, indeed, to fetter the latter by such strong injunctions as to prevent the Italian army from acquiring any great reputation in Alsace and Swabia ; but this bold step of the Court roused him from his security, and warned him of the coming danger. That he might not a second time lose his command, and with it the fruit of all his labours, he must hasten forward the execution of his enterprise. By removing the suspicious officers, and by his liberality to the rest, he secured the attachment of his troops. Every other order in the State, every duty of justice and humanity, he had sacrificed to the prosperity of the army, and therefore he reckoned upon their gratitude. At the very moment when he meditated an unexampled act of ingratitude against the author of his own good fortune, he founded his whole hopes upon the gratitude which was to be shown to himself.

The leaders of the Silesian armies had no power from their principals to accede, in their own names, to the important proposals of Wallenstein; and even the cessation of hostilities which he demanded, they would only agree to for a fortnight. Before the Duke disclosed his views to Sweden and Saxony, he had deemed it advisable to secure the support of France in his bold undertaking. For this purpose a secret negotiation had been carried on between Count Kinsky and the French ambassador Feuquieres at Dresden, though with the greatest possible caution and distrust, which had terminated according to his wishes. Feuquieres received orders from his Court to promise every aid on the part of France, and to offer the Duke a considerable pecuniary advance in case of need.

But it was this excessive caution to secure himself on all sides that was the cause of his ruin. The French ambassador, discovered with the greatest astonishment, that a plan, which more than any other required secrecy, had been communicated to the Swedes and the Saxons. The Saxon ministry, as was generally known, was in the interests of the Emperor, and the conditions offered to the Swedes fell too far short of their expectations to be likely to be accepted. Feuquieres, therefore, could not believe that the Duke could be serious in calculating upon the aid of the former, and the silence of the latter. He discovered his doubts and anxieties to the Swedish Chancellor, who equally distrusted the views of Wallenstein and disliked his plans. Although it was no secret to Oxenstiern that the Duke had made similar proposals before to Gustavus Adolphus, he could not conceive the possibility of inducing a whole army to revolt, and of fulfilling



his extravagant promises. A design so daring, and a conduct so imprudent, seemed inconsistent with the reserved and suspicious temper of the Duke; and he was the more inclined to consider the whole as the result of dissimulation and treachery, because he had more reason to doubt his honesty than his prudence.

Oxenstiern's doubts at last affected Arnheim himself, who, in full confidence in Wallenstein's sincerity, had repaired to the Chancellor at Gelnhausen, to induce him to lend some of his best regiments to the Duke for the execution of the plan. They began to suspect that the whole proposal was only an artful snare to disarm the allies, and to deliver the flower of their army into the hands of the Emperor. Wallenstein's well known character sanctioned the suspicion, and the inconsistencies in which he afterwards involved himself, entirely destroyed their confidence in his sincerity. While he was endeavouring to draw the Swedes into this alliance, and requiring the assistance of their best troops, he declared to Arnheim that they must begin with expelling the Swedes from the empire; and while the Saxon officers, relying upon the security of the truce, repaired to him in great numbers, he made an unsuccessful attempt to seize their persons. He was the first to break the truce, which he had much difficulty in renewing some months afterwards. All faith in his sincerity was at an end; his whole conduct was regarded as a mere tissue of deceit and low cunning, in order to weaken the allies and repair his own strength. This indeed he actually effected, as his own army daily augmented, while that of the allies was reduced nearly one half by desertion and bad living.

But he did not avail himself of his superiority as was expected in Vienna. When a decisive blow was expected he suddenly revived the negotiations, and when the truce lulled the allies into security, he as suddenly renewed hostilities. All these contradictions proceeded from the complicated and irreconcilable projects of ruining at once the Emperor and the Swedes, and concluding a separate peace with the Saxons.

Impatient at the bad success of his negotiations, he resolved at last to display his strength; the more so, as the pressing distress within the empire, and the increasing discontent at the Imperial court admitted of no longer delay. Before the last cessation of hostilities, General Holk from Bohemia had fallen upon the territory of Meissen, laid waste every thing upon his route with fire and sword, driven the Elector into his fortresses, and taken the town of Leipzig. But the truce in Bohemia put a period to his ravages, and the consequences of his excesses brought him, at Adorf, to his grave. No sooner was the truce at an end, than Wallenstein made a movement as if to penetrate through Lusatia into Saxony, and circulated the report that Piccolomini had already invaded that country. Arnheim immediately left his camp in Silesia to follow him, and hasten to the assistance of the Electorate. By this means the Swedes were left exposed, who were encamped in small force under Count Thurn at Steinau on the Oder, and this was exactly the object which Wallenstein had in view. He allowed the Saxon general to march sixteen miles into the territory of Meissen, and then suddenly turning towards the Oder, surprised the Swedish army in the most complete

security. Their cavalry were first beaten by General Schafgotsch, who was sent against them, and the infantry completely surrounded at Steinau by the army of the Duke which followed. Wallenstein gave Count Thurn half an hour to deliberate whether he would defend himself with 2500 men, against more than 20,000, or surrender at discretion. But under such circumstances there was no room for deliberation. The whole army surrendered, and the most complete victory was obtained without a drop of bloodshed. Colours, baggage, and artillery all fell into the hands of the victors, the officers were taken into custody, the privates incorporated with the army of Wallenstein. And now at last, after fourteen years banishment, after numberless changes of fortune, the author of the Bohemian insurrection, the remote origin of this destructive war, the notorious Count Thurn, was in the power of his enemies. The arrival of this great criminal was expected with blood-thirsty impatience in Vienna, where they already anticipated the terrible triumph of sacrificing this distinguished victim to public justice. But it was a still sweeter triumph to Wallenstein to deprive the Jesuits of this pleasure, and Thurn was set at liberty. Fortunately for him, he knew more than it would have been prudent to divulge in Vienna, and his enemies were also those of Wallenstein. A defeat might have been forgiven in Vienna, but this disappointment of their hopes they could not pardon. "What should I have done with this madman?" he writes with a malicious sneer to the minister who called him to account for this ill-timed display of magnanimity. "Would to Heaven the enemy had many generals such as he. At the head of

the Swedish army he will be of more service to us than in prison."

The victory of Steinau was shortly followed by the taking of Leignitz, Grossglogau, and even of Frankfort on the Oder. Schafgotsch, who remained behind in Silesia to complete the subjection of that province, blockaded Brieg, and pressed Breslau, though in vain, as that free town was jealous of its privileges, and devoted to the Swedes. Colonels Illo and Goetz were despatched by Wallenstein to the Warta, to penetrate into Pomerania, and to the coasts of the Baltic, and actually obtained possession of Landsberg, the key of Pomerania. While the Elector of Brandenburg and the Duke of Pomerania thus trembled for their dominions, Wallenstein himself, with the remainder of his army, burst suddenly into Lusatia, where he took Goerlitz by storm, and compelled Bautzen to surrender. But his object was only to terrify the Elector of Saxony, not to prosecute the advantages he had obtained; and therefore, even with the sword in his hand, he continued his negotiations for peace with Brandenburg and Saxony, but with no better success, having now forfeited all confidence by the inconsistencies of his conduct. He was now on the point of turning his whole force in earnest against the unfortunate Saxons, and effecting his object by force of arms, when circumstances compelled him to leave that quarter. The conquests of Duke Bernard upon the Danube, which threatened Austria itself with immediate danger, pressingy called him into Bavaria, and the expulsion of the Saxons and Swedes from Silesia, deprived him of every pretext

for longer resisting the Imperial orders, and leaving the Elector of Bavaria without assistance. He therefore marched with the main army towards the Upper Palatinate, and his retreat delivered Upper Saxony for ever from this formidable enemy.

He had delayed as long as he could the deliverance of Bavaria, and evaded on every possible pretext the commands of the Emperor. He had indeed, after repeated entreaties despatched to Count Altringer, who was endeavouring to defend the Lech and the Danube against Horn and Bernard, a reinforcement of some regiments from Bohemia, but under the express condition of acting merely on the defensive. He referred the Emperor and the Elector, whenever they applied to him for aid, to Altringer, who, as he gave out, had received from him an unlimited power to act; he secretly, however, tied up his hands by the severest injunctions, and even threatened him with death if he exceeded his orders. When Duke Bernard appeared before Ratisbon, and the Emperor as well as the Elector reiterated more pressingly their requests for assistance, he pretended he was about to despatch General Gallas with a considerable army to the Danube; but this too was neglected, and Ratisbon, Saubingen, and Cham, as well as the bishopric of Eichstadt, fell into the hands of the Swedes. When at last he could no longer delay complying with the orders of the Court, he marched as slowly as possible toward the Bavarian frontier, where he invested the town of Cham, which had been taken by the Swedes. But no sooner did he learn that the Swedes were contemplating a division in Bohemia, by way of Saxony, than he availed himself of the report, as a pretext

for immediately retreating into Bohemia, without effecting any thing in that quarter. Every thing, he pretended, must give way to the defence and preservation of the hereditary dominions of the Emperor; and therefore he remained firmly fixed in Bohemia, which he guarded as if it had been his own property. The Emperor still more pressing-ly reiterated his orders to him to march towards the Danube, to prevent the Duke of Weimar from establishing himself in this dangerous position on the frontiers of Austria. Wallenstein, however, thought proper to conclude the campaign for this year, and again allowed his troops to take up their winter-quarters in this exhausted kingdom.

This continued insolence and unexampled contempt of the Imperial orders, and this obvious neglect of the common cause, joined to his equivocal conduct towards the enemy, must at last have convinced the Emperor of the truth of those unfavourable reports with regard to the Duke's views, which were current through Germany. He had for a long time succeeded in giving a colour to his criminal correspondence with the enemy, and persuading the Emperor, who was still inclined to favour him, that the sole object of his secret conferences was to procure a peace for Germany. But impenetrable as he believed his proceedings to be, there was enough in the whole of his conduct to justify the accusations with which his rivals incessantly assailed the ear of the Emperor. In order to investigate the truth or falsehood of these rumours, Ferdinand had at various times sent spies into Wallenstein's camp; but as the Duke took the precaution to commit nothing to writing, they returned with nothing but conjectures. But when,

at last, the minister himself, his former champion at the Court (on whose estates Wallenstein had executed his system of oppression as well as on the rest), joined his enemies ; when the Elector of Bavaria threatened, in case of his further delays, to unite with the Swedes ; when the Spanish ambassador insisted on his dismissal, and threatened, in case of refusal, to withdraw the subsidies furnished by his Crown, the Emperor found himself a second time compelled to remove him from his command.

The vigorous and immediate interference of the Emperor with the army soon convinced the Duke that he considered the compact with him as at an end, and that his dismissal was inevitable. One of his inferior generals in Austria, whom he had forbidden, under pain of death, to obey the orders of the Court, received the commands of the Emperor himself to join the Elector of Bavaria ; and Wallenstein himself was imperiously ordered to despatch a reinforcement of some regiments to join the Cardinal Infant, who was on his march with an army from Italy. All these preparations convinced him that a plan was finally arranged for disarming him by degrees, and thus ruining him at once, when he had been rendered weak and defenceless.

It was now necessary, in self-defence, to carry into execution those plans which he had formerly contemplated only with the view of his aggrandizement. He had delayed too long, either because the favourable constellations had not appeared ; or, as he used to say to his friends when reproving their impatience, because the time was not yet come. Even now, the time was not come ; but the pressure of circumstances no longer al-



lowed him to await the starry hour. The first step was to assure himself of the sentiments of the principal leaders, and then to try the attachment of the army, which he had so liberally courted. Three of these leaders, Colonels Kinsky, Terzky, and Illo, had long been in his secrets, and the two first were united to his interests by the ties of relationship. Equal ambition, equal hatred to the government, and the hope of enormous rewards, bound them in the closest manner to Wallenstein, who did not scruple to employ the lowest means, in order to increase the number of his adherents. He had once advised Colonel Illo to solicit the title of Count in Vienna, and had promised him the most effectual support in his application. But he secretly wrote to the minister to refuse his request, as it would occasion similar claims from others, whose services and claims were equal to his. When Illo returned to the army, his first question to him was with regard to the success of his mission; and when Illo acquainted him with its failure, he broke out into the bitterest complaints against the Court. "Thus," said he, "are our faithful services rewarded, my recommendation disregarded, and your merit denied so small a recompense! Who would longer dedicate his services to so ungrateful a master? No, for my part, I am henceforth the determined foe of Austria." Illo coincided with him, and a close alliance was cemented between them.

But the secret which was known to these three confederates, was long an impenetrable mystery to the rest; and the confidence which Wallenstein reposed in the devotion of his officers, was

founded merely on the benefits he had conferred upon them, and their discontent with the Court. But this vague surmise must be converted into certainty before he could throw aside the mask, or venture any open step against the Emperor. Count Piccolomini, who had distinguished himself by his unparalleled bravery at Lutzen, was the first whose fidelity he put to the trial. He had attached this General to him by large presents, and preferred him to his comrades, because he was born under the same constellations with himself. He disclosed to him, that, impelled by the Emperor's ingratitude, and the near approach of his own danger, he had determined entirely to abandon the party of Austria, to join the enemy with the best part of his army, and to maintain the war against the House of Austria, on all sides of its dominions, till he had extirpated it by the roots. He had principally calculated on the assistance of Piccolomini in the execution of this plan, and had promised him beforehand the greatest rewards. When the latter, in order to conceal his consternation at this sudden proposal, spoke of the dangers and obstacles which opposed the design, Wallenstein ridiculed his fears. "In such enterprises," he maintained, "nothing was difficult but the commencement. The stars were propitious to him, the opportunity the best that could be wished for, and something must always be trusted to fortune. His resolution was taken, and, if it could not be otherwise, he would try the hazard at the head of a thousand horse." Piccolomini took care not to excite the suspicions of Wallenstein by too long an opposition, and yielded with apparent conviction to the force

of his reasoning. Such was the infatuation of the Duke, that, in spite of the warnings of Count Terzky, he never thought of doubting the sincerity of this man, who lost not a moment in communicating to the Court at Vienna the important discovery he had made.

Preparatory to taking the important step, he, in January 1634, summoned all the commanders of the army to Pilsen, whither he had marched after his retreat from Bavaria. The latest orders of the Emperor, to spare his hereditary dominions in his winter-quarterings, to recover Ratisbon in the midst of winter, and to diminish the army, by a detachment of six thousand horse, to the assistance of the Cardinal Infant, were sufficiently important to justify their being laid before the assembled Council of War; and this plausible pretext served to conceal the real purpose of the assembly. Sweden and Saxony received invitations to be present, in order to treat with the Duke of Friedland for a peace; a written correspondence was to be resorted to with the leaders of more distant armies. Twenty of the commanders thus summoned appeared; but those whose presence was most important, Gallas, Coloredo and Altringer, were absent. The Duke reiterated his summons to them, while he continued, in expectation of their speedy arrival, the prosecution of his designs.

It was no light enterprise in which he was about to embark; in thus avowing that a nobleman, proud, brave, and jealous of his honour, could be capable of the most shameful treachery; and appearing at once, in the eyes of those who had been accustomed to behold in him the glittering

image of the throne, the judge of their actions, and the supporter of the laws, as a traitor and a rebel. It was no easy task to shake from its foundations a legitimate sovereignty, fortified by time, and consecrated by religion and the laws, to dissolve the charm of the senses and the imagination, the formidable guardians of an established throne, and forcibly to uproot those invincible feelings of duty, which plead so loudly and so powerfully in the breast of the subject in favour of his sovereign. But, dazzled by the splendour of a crown, Wallenstein observed not the precipice that yawned beneath his feet; and, too fully confident in his own strength, he, as is often the case with strong and daring minds, shut his eyes to the magnitude and the number of the difficulties that opposed him. Wallenstein saw nothing but an army, partly indifferent, and partly exasperated, against the court; an army accustomed to yield a blind submission to his overruling will, to tremble before him as their legislator and judge, and to receive his orders with awful reverence, as the mandates of fate. In the extravagant flatteries which his omnipotence received, in the bold abuse of the court in which a licentious soldiery indulged, and which the wild license of the camp rendered excusable, he thought he read the real sentiments of the army; and the boldness with which the monarch's measures were censured, convinced him of their readiness to renounce their allegiance to a sovereign so little respected. But that which he had so much underrated, proved to be the most formidable obstacle with which he had to contend; those feelings of duty on the part of the troops, were the rock on which his hopes were shattered.

Misled by the extensive influence he possessed over these lawless bands, he ascribed the whole to his own personal greatness, without distinguishing how much he owed to himself, and how much to the dignity with which he was invested. All trembled before him while he exercised a legitimate authority, while obedience to him was a duty, and while his consequence was supported by the majesty of the throne. Greatness, however exercised, may excite wonder and terror ; but legal greatness alone can extort reverence and submission : and of this decisive advantage he deprived himself, the instant he avowed himself a traitor.

Field-Marshal Illo undertook to learn the sentiments of the commanders, and to prepare them for the step which was expected of them. He began by laying before them the new orders of the court to the general and the army ; and by the obnoxious turn he gave to them, he had little difficulty in exciting the indignation of the assembly. After this well chosen introduction, he expatiated with much eloquence upon the services of the army and the general, and the ingratitude with which they had been usually requited by the Emperor. “ Every measure at court,” he maintained, “ was the result of Spanish influence ; the ministry were in the pay of Spain ; the Duke of Friedland alone had hitherto opposed this tyranny, and had thus drawn down upon himself the deadly enmity of the Spaniards. To remove him from the command, or to make away with him entirely, he continued, had long been the object of their most zealous efforts ; and, until they should succeed in one or other, they endeavoured to abridge

his power in the field. For no other reason had the command been placed in the hands of the King of Hungary, but that this prince, as the ready instrument of foreign counsels, might be led about at pleasure, the better to promote the Spanish power in Germany. It was with no other view than that of weakening the army, that the six thousand troops were required for the Cardinal Infant; it was merely for the purpose of harassing it by a winter campaign, that they were now called on to undertake the recovery of Ratisbon. Every means of subsistence was rendered difficult to the army, while the Jesuits and the ministry enriched themselves with the labours of the provinces, and wasted the money intended for the troops. The general must confess his inability to keep his engagements to the army, when thus abandoned by the Court. For all the services which, for two and twenty years, he had rendered to Austria; for all the difficulties with which he had struggled; for all the treasures of his own which he had wasted in the Imperial service, he was to be requited by a disgraceful dismissal. But he was resolved the matter should not come to this; he was determined voluntarily to resign the command before it should be wrested from his hands; and this was the object of his present communication to the officers. It was now for them to inquire, whether it were advisable for them to lose such a general. It was now time for them to consider who was to refund to them the sums they had expended in the Emperor's service; who was now to secure to them the reward of their bravery, when he, before whose eyes it was exerted, had vanished from the scene."

A general cry that they would not allow their general to leave them, interrupted the speaker. Four of the principal officers were deputed to lay before him the wish of the assembly, and, earnestly to entreat, that he would not leave the army. The Duke made a show of resistance, and only yielded after the second deputation. This concession on his side, seemed to demand a return on theirs ; as he engaged not to quit the service without the knowledge and approbation of the commanders, he required of them a written counter-promise to adhere firmly to him, neither to separate nor to allow themselves to be separated from him, and to shed their last drop of blood in his defence. Whoever should desert this confederacy, was to be regarded as a perfidious traitor, and treated by the rest as a common enemy. The express clause which was added, "*As long as Wallenstein shall employ the army for the Emperor's service,*" seemed to exclude all possibility of mistake, and none of the assembled commanders hesitated at once to grant a request apparently so innocent and so reasonable.

The reading of this document took place immediately before an entertainment, which Field-Marshal Illo had ordered expressly with that view ; the signing was to take place when they rose from table. The host did his utmost to darken the intellects of his guests by strong potations ; and it was not until he had effected this that he produced the paper for signature. Most of them wrote their names without knowing what they were subscribing ; a few only more curious or more distrustful read the paper over again, and discovered, to their astonishment, that the clause, " as long as



Wallenstein shall employ the army for the Emperor's service," was omitted. Illo had, in fact, dexterously contrived to substitute in place of the first copy, another, in which this clause was wanting. The trick was now evident, and many hesitated to sign the writing. Piccolomini who had seen through the whole device, and had been present at this scene, merely with the view of giving information of the whole to the Court, forgot himself so far in his cups, as to drink the Emperor's health. But Count Terzky now rose and declared, that all were perjured villains who should retract their promise. His menaces, the representation of the inevitable delay to which they would be exposed by longer delay, the example of the rest and Illo's rhetoric, at last overcame their scruples, and the paper was signed by all without exception.

Wallenstein had now effected his purpose, but the unexpected resistance he had met with from the commanders, roused him at once from the illusion in which he had hitherto indulged. Besides, most of the names were so illegibly scrawled, that it was impossible not to suspect that some deceit was intended. But instead of being recalled to his recollection by this warning, he gave vent to his injured pride in complaints and reproaches. He called a meeting of the commanders the next day, and undertook, personally, to confirm the whole tenor of the agreement, which Illo had submitted to them the day before. After pouring out the bitterest reproaches and abuse against the Court, he reminded them of their opposition to the proposals of the day before, and declared, that this discovery would induce him to retract his promise. The generals withdrew in silence and con-

fusion ; but after a short consultation in the anti-chamber, they returned to apologize for their late conduct, and offered to sign the agreement anew.

Nothing now remained but to obtain a similar assurance from the absent generals, or, in case of refusal, to seize their persons. Wallenstein renewed his invitation to them, and urged them to hasten their arrival. But the rumour of what had taken place at Pilsen reached them on their journey, and soon stopped their further progress. Altringer remained in the strong fortress of Frauenberg, on pretence of sickness. Gallas made his appearance, but only in the character of a spy, and in order, more completely, to afford the Emperor information as to the approaching danger. The intelligence which he and Piccolomini gave, at once converted the suspicions of the Court into an alarming certainty. Similar disclosures which were at the same time made from other quarters, left no room for farther doubt ; and the sudden change of commanders which took place in Austria and Silesia, appeared to be the prelude to some enterprise of the deepest importance. A danger so pressing required a remedy not less immediate ; but the Court were unwilling to proceed at once to the execution of the sentence, till the regular forms of justice were complied with. Secret instructions were therefore issued to the principal officers, whose fidelity could be relied on, to seize the Duke of Friedland with his two associates, Illo and Terzky, in any way, and keep them in close confinement till they should have an opportunity of being heard, and of answering for their conduct ; but if this could not be accomplished quietly, the

public danger required that they should be taken dead or alive. General Gallas, at the same time, received a commission, directing these orders of the Emperor to be communicated to the colonels and officers, and by which the army was released from its obedience to the traitor, and placed under the command of Gallas, till a new generalissimo could be appointed. To recall to their allegiance those who had been seduced, and to avoid driving the guilty to despair, a general amnesty was proclaimed, in regard to all offences against the Imperial majesty, which had taken place at Pilsen.

General Gallas was not pleased with the honour which was done him. At Pilsen he found himself under the observation of the person whose fate he was to decide; in the power of an enemy, who had a hundred eyes to watch his motions. If Wallenstein discovered the secret of his commission, nothing could save him from the effects of his vengeance and despair. But if it was thus dangerous to be the mere depositary of such a commission, how much more dangerous would be its execution? The sentiments of the generals could not be relied on; and it was at least doubtful whether, after the step they had taken, they would be inclined to trust to the assurances of the Court, and at once to abandon the brilliant hopes they had formed, from the enterprise of Wallenstein. How dangerous too, the attempt to lay hands upon the person of a man who, till now, had been considered inviolable; who had long been the object of the deepest reverence, through the habitual exercise of power, and an obedience, which had acquired the force of custom; who was invested with

every attribute of outward majesty and inward greatness ; whose very aspect inspired terror, and whose nod was the signal of life and death ! To seize such a man like a common criminal, in the midst of the guards by whom he was surrounded, and in a city apparently devoted to him ; to convert the object of this deep and habitual veneration into a subject of compassion, or of contempt, was a task calculated to shake even the courage of the bravest. Fear and veneration for their general were now so deeply engraven in the breasts of the soldiers, that even the atrocious crime of high treason could not eradicate these sentiments.

Gallas perceived the impossibility of executing his commission under the eyes of the Duke ; and his most anxious wish was, to have an interview with Gallas, before venturing on its execution. The long delay of the latter was already beginning to excite the suspicions of the Duke ; and Gallas now offered to repair in person to Frauenberg, and to prevail on Altringer, his relation, to return with him. Wallenstein was so pleased with this proof of his zeal, that he even lent him his own equipage for the journey. Delighted with the success of his stratagem, he left Pilsen without delay, leaving to Count Piccolomini the task of watching the motions of Wallenstein. He lost no time in making use of the Imperial patent wherever he went, and the sentiments of the troops he found more favourable than he had expected. Instead of bringing back his friend with him, he despatched him to Vienna, to warn the Emperor against the intended attack, while he himself repaired to Upper Austria, which was then threatened by the dangerous approach of Duke Bernard.

In Bohemia the towns of Budweiss and Tabor were again taken possession of for the Emperor, and every preparation made to oppose with energy the designs of the traitor.

As Gallas did not appear disposed to return, Piccolomini ventured to put the credulity of the Duke once more to the test. He begged to be allowed to bring back Gallas, and Wallenstein a second time allowed himself to be overreached. This inconceivable blindness is only explicable as the result of his pride, which now recalled the opinion it had once formed of an individual, and would not admit, even to itself, the possibility of error. He conveyed Count Piccolomini in his own carriage to Lintz, where the latter immediately followed the example of Gallas, and even went a step farther. He had promised the Duke to return. He did so, but it was at the head of an army, to surprise the Duke in Pilsen. Another army hastened under General Suys, to Prague, to secure that capital in its allegiance, and defend it against an attack of the rebels. Gallas, at the same time, announced himself to the different Imperial armies as the sole commander, from whom they were henceforth to receive orders. Placards were circulated through all the Imperial camps, denouncing the Duke and his four confidants, and releasing the troops from their allegiance to him.

The example which had been given at Lintz, was universally followed; the designs of the traitor were condemned, and he was forsaken by all the armies. At last, when even Piccolomini returned no more, the mist fell from Wallenstein's eyes, and he awoke in consternation

from his dream. Yet he still continued to believe in the truth of astrology, and in the fidelity of the army. Immediately after the intelligence of Piccolomini's defection, he issued orders, that in future no commands should be obeyed, which did not proceed directly from himself, or from Terzky or Illo. He prepared, in all haste, to advance upon Prague, where he intended to throw off the mask, and openly to declare against the Emperor. All the troops were to assemble before Prague, and from thence to pour down with rapidity upon Austria. Duke Bernard, who had entered upon the conspiracy, was to support the operations of the Duke, with the Swedish troops, and to effect a diversion upon the Danube.

Terzky was already upon his march towards Prague ; and nothing but the want of cavalry prevented the Duke from following him with the regiments who still adhered to him. But when he awaited, with the most anxious expectation, intelligence from Prague, he suddenly received information of the loss of that town, the defection of his generals, the desertion of his troops, the discovery of his whole plot, and the rapid advance of Piccolomini, who had vowed his destruction. Suddenly and fearfully had all his projects been blasted—all his hopes annihilated. He stood alone, abandoned by all to whom he had been a benefactor, betrayed by all on whom he had depended ; but it is under such circumstances that great minds prove their strength. Though disappointed in all his expectations, he abandoned none of his designs ; he gave up nothing for lost,

so long as he himself survived. The time was now come when he absolutely required that assistance, which he so often solicited from the Swedes and the Saxons, and when all doubts of the sincerity of his purposes must be dispelled; and now, when Oxenstiern and Arnheim perceived the reality of his intentions, and were aware of his necessities, they no longer hesitated to avail themselves of the favourable opportunity, and to offer him their protection. The Duke Francis Albert of Saxe-Lauenburg was to join him with 4000 troops from Saxony; and Duke Bernard, and the Palatine Christian of Birkenfeld, with 6000 from Sweden, all chosen troops.

Wallenstein left Pilsen, with Terzky's regiment, and the few who either were, or pretended to be, faithful to him, and hastened to Egra, on the frontiers of the kingdom, in order to be nearer the Upper Palatinate, and to facilitate his junction with Duke Bernard. He was not yet aware of the sentence which proclaimed him a public enemy and traitor; this thunder-stroke awaited him at Egra. He still calculated upon the army which General Schafgotsch was preparing for him in Silesia, and still flattered himself with the hope that many even of those who had abandoned him, would return with the first dawning prospect of success. Even on his flight to Egra (so little humility had he learned from melancholy experience) he was still occupied with the gigantic project of dethroning the Emperor. It was under these circumstances that one of his suite asked leave to offer him his advice. "Under the Emperor," said he, "your Highness is a great and



respected noble ; if you join the enemy, you are at best but a precarious King. It is unwise to exchange certainty for uncertainty. The enemy will avail themselves of your personal influence while the opportunity is favourable ; but you will ever be regarded with suspicion, and they will constantly be apprehensive that you may treat them as you have done the Emperor. Return, then, to your allegiance, while there is yet time."

—" And how is that to be done ? " said Wallenstein, interrupting him : " You have 40,000 men at arms, rejoined he, (alluding to the coinage of the time, which was stamped with the figure of an armed man), take them with you : travel straight to the Imperial Court : there declare that all the steps you have hitherto taken were merely with the view of putting the fidelity of the Emperor's servants to the test, and of distinguishing the loyal from the suspicious ; and since most have shown a disposition to revolt, say you are come to warn his Imperial Majesty against these dangerous men. Thus you will make your enemies appear as traitors, while they were labouring to represent you in the same light. At the Imperial Court, your 40,000 ducats will assure your welcome, and Friedland will be restored to all his former favour.'

—" The proposal is good," said Wallenstein, after a pause,— " but let the devil trust to it."

While the Duke, in his retirement in Egra, was actively carrying on his negotiations with the enemy, consulting the stars, and indulging in new hopes, the dagger which was to put a period to his existence was unsheathed almost under his very eyes. The Imperial proscription which proclaimed him an outlaw, had produced its effect ; and

fate ordained that ingratitude should be repaid with ingratitude. Among his officers, Wallenstein had particularly distinguished one Leslie, an Irishman, and had made his fortune. This was the man who now felt himself called on to execute the sentence against him, and to earn the price of blood. No sooner had he reached Egra, in the suite of the Duke, than he disclosed to the commandant of the town, Colonel Buttler, \* and to Lieutenant-Colonel Gordon, two Protestant Scotchmen, the treasonable designs of the Duke, which the latter had been incautious enough to communicate to him during the journey. He had met with two men suited to his purposes. They were called on to choose between treason and duty, between their legitimate sovereign and a fugitive and forsaken rebel; and though the latter was their common benefactor, the choice could not remain for a moment doubtful. Their allegiance was firmly and solemnly pledged to the Emperor, and that allegiance called for the most rapid measures against the public enemy. The opportunity was favourable; his evil genius seemed to have delivered him into the hand of vengeance. But not to interfere with the province of justice, they resolved to deliver up their victim alive; and they parted with the bold design of taking their general prisoner. This dark plot was buried in the deepest silence; and Wallenstein, far from suspecting his impending ruin, flattered himself that in the garrison of Egra he possessed his bravest and most faithful adherents.

\* Schiller is mistaken as to this point. Leslie was a Scotchman, and Buttler an Irishman.

It was at this time that he received the Imperial proclamations containing his sentence, and which had been published in all the camps. He now, for the first time, became aware of the full extent of the danger by which he was surrounded, the impossibility of any return to his allegiance, his present fearful and forlorn condition, and the absolute necessity of joining the enemy in earnest. He imparted to Leslie the anguish of his mind; and the vehemence of his agitation drew from him his last remaining secret. He disclosed to this officer his resolution of delivering up Egra and Ellenbogen, the passes of the kingdom, to the Palatine of Birkenfeld, and acquainted him at the same time with the near approach of Duke Bernard, of whose arrival he expected to be informed by a messenger that very night. This disclosure, which Leslie immediately communicated to the conspirators, altered their first resolution. The urgency of the danger no longer admitted of any delay. Egra might in an instant be in the enemy's hands, and a sudden revolution might liberate their prisoner. To anticipate and prevent this misfortune, they resolved to assassinate him and his associates the next night.

In order that this design might be executed with less noise, the act was to be perpetrated at an entertainment which Colonel Buttler was to give in the Castle of Egra. All the guests appeared except Wallenstein, who was too much agitated to enjoy company, and sent an apology. With regard to him, therefore, it was necessary to change their plan; but against the others they resolved to carry their design into execution. The three Colonels Illo, Terzky, and William Kinsky,

came in with careless confidence, and with them Captain Neumann, an officer of ability, of whose advice Terzky used to avail himself in any affair of intricacy. Previous to their arrival, the most trusty soldiers of the garrison, to whom the plot had been communicated, were admitted into the Castle, all the avenues leading from it guarded, and six of Buttler's dragoons concealed in a chamber near the banquet-room, who were to rush out on a concerted signal and put the traitors to death. Without suspecting the danger that impended over them, the guests abandoned themselves to the pleasures of the table, and Wallenstein's health was drunk in full bumpers, not as an Imperial servant, but as a sovereign prince. The wine opened their hearts, and Illo, with exultation, boasted that in three days an army would arrive such as Wallenstein had never yet commanded. "Yes," cried Neumann, "and then he hopes to bathe his hands in Austrian blood." During this conversation the dessert was brought in, and Leslie gave the concerted signal to raise the drawbridges, while he himself took the keys of the doors. The hall was instantly filled with armed men, who with the unexpected cry of "Long live Ferdinand!" placed themselves behind the chairs of the destined victims. All sprung up from table with a presentiment of their fate. Kinsky and Terzky were killed upon the spot, and before they could put themselves upon their guard. Neumann contrived, during the confusion in the hall, to escape into the court, where, however, he was recognised and cut down by the guards. Illo alone had the presence of mind to defend himself. He placed his back against a window, from whence he uttered the bit-

terest reproaches against Gordon, and challenged him to fight him fairly and honourably. After a most gallant resistance, in which he killed two of his assailants, he fell to the ground, overpowered by numbers and pierced by ten wounds. No sooner was the deed done, than Leslie hastened into the town to prevent a tumult. The guards at the Castle-gate, seeing him running and out of breath, and believing he was one of the party of the rebels, fired their muskets after him, but without effect. The firing, however, aroused the guards within the town, and nothing but the speedy arrival of Leslie would have been sufficient to calm the tumult. He now hastily disclosed to them the whole circumstances of Wallenstein's conspiracy, the measures which were already taken to prevent it, the fate of the four rebels, as well as that which awaited their principal. Finding them disposed to second his views, he again exacted from them an oath to be faithful to the Emperor, and to live and die for the good cause. A hundred of Butler's dragoons from the Castle were sent into the town to traverse the streets, to overawe the adherents of the Duke, and to prevent tumult. All the gates of Egra were at the same time taken possession of, and every avenue to Wallenstein's residence, which was adjoining to the market-place, guarded by a numerous and faithful detachment, sufficient to prevent either his escape or his receiving any assistance from without.

But before proceeding to the final execution of the deed, a long conference was held among the conspirators in the Castle, whether they should actually put him to death, or content themselves with making him prisoner. Covered as they wer

with the blood of his associates, even these rude hearts shuddered at the idea of taking away so illustrious a life. They had seen him their leader in battle, in the days of his good fortune, surrounded by his victorious army, clothed with all the pomp of military greatness, and the awe to which they had been so long accustomed again seized upon their minds. But this transitory emotion was soon effaced by the recollection of the immediate danger. They remembered the threats which Neumann and Illo had thrown out at table, the near approach of the formidable army of the Swedes and the Saxons, and saw that their only chance of escape lay in the immediate destruction of the traitor. They adhered, therefore, to their first resolution, and Captain Deveroux, an Irishman, who had already been retained for that murderous purpose, received the bloody order.

While the three conspirators were thus deciding upon his fate in the castle of Egra, Wallenstein was employed with Seni, in endeavouring to read his destiny in the stars. "The danger is not yet over," said the astrologer with prophetic spirit. "It is," replied the Duke, whose impetuous will strove even to counteract the decrees of Heaven. "But it stands written in the stars, that thou thyself shalt soon be thrown into prison." The astrologer had taken his leave, and Wallenstein had retired to bed, when Captain Deveroux appeared before his residence with six halberdiers, and was immediately admitted by the guard, who were accustomed to see him visit the general at all hours. A page who met him upon the stair, and attempted to give the alarm, was run through the body with a pike. In the anti-

chamber, the assassins met a servant, who had just come out of the sleeping-room of his master, and had taken the key with him. Laying his finger upon his mouth, the terrified servant made signs to them to make no noise, as the Duke was asleep. "Friend," cried Deveroux, "it is time to awake him;" and with these words he rushed against the door, which was bolted from within, and burst it open with a blow of his foot.

Wallenstein had been roused from his first sleep by the report of a musket which went off, and had sprung to the window to call the guard. At this moment he heard, from the windows of the adjoining building, the cries and lamentations of the Countesses Terzky and Kinsky, who had just been informed of the violent death of their husbands. Ere he had time to recover from the first shock of these events, Deveroux, with the assassins, was in his chamber. The Duke was in his shirt, as he had leapt out of bed, and was leaning on a table near the window. "Art thou the villain," cried Deveroux to him, "who intends to lead over the Emperor's troops to the enemy, and to dethrone his Majesty? Now thou must die!" He paused for a few moments, as if expecting an answer; but rage and astonishment had silenced Wallenstein. Throwing his arms open, he received full in his breast, the deadly blow of the halberts, and fell, bathed in his blood, without uttering a groan.

Next day an express arrived from the Duke of Lauenburg, announcing the approach of this Prince. The person of the ambassador was secured, and another servant in Wallenstein's livery, despatched to the Duke, to decoy him into Egra.



The stratagem succeeded, and Francis Albert delivered himself into the hands of the enemy. Duke Bernard of Weimar, who was already on his march towards Egra, had nearly shared the same fate ; but he fortunately learned the death of Wallenstein in time enough to secure himself by a retreat. Ferdinand shed a tear over the fate of his general, and ordered three thousand masses to be performed for his soul at Vienna ; but at the same time he did not forget to reward his assassins with gold chains, chamberlains keys, dignities and estates.

Thus, at the age of fifty, did Wallenstein terminate his active and extraordinary life, owing to ambition both his rise and his fall ; even amidst all his failings, a great and an admirable character, incapable of being surpassed, had he confined himself within due bounds. The virtues of the ruler and of the hero, prudence, justice, firmness, and courage, stand out with colossal magnitude in his character ; but he wanted the gentler virtues of the man, which adorn the hero, and obtain for the ruler the love of his subjects. Terror was the talisman with which he worked : excessive in his punishments as in his rewards, he knew how to keep the zeal of his followers constantly on the stretch, and he exacted from his soldiers an unhesitating obedience, such as no general of ancient or modern times could boast of. Submission to his will was to him more valuable than bravery ; for the latter was valuable to the mere soldier, but the former to the general. He kept the submission of his troops in constant practice by capricious orders, and rewarded the readiness to obey his will even in trifles with profusion ; because he looked rather to the act of obedience itself, than the sub-

ject on which it was to be exerted. He once issued an order, that none but red sashes should be worn in the army. A captain of horse no sooner heard the order, than he pulled off his gold-embroidered sash, and trampled it under foot ; Wallenstein, on being informed of the circumstance, promoted him to the rank of Colonel upon the spot. His comprehensive glance was always directed to the whole, and with all this appearance of caprice, he never lost sight of his main object. The robberies committed by the soldiers in a friendly country, had led to the severest orders against marauders ; and all who were detected in a theft, were threatened with the halter. It happened that Wallenstein himself met a soldier upon the field, whom he ordered to be apprehended without trial as a transgressor of the law, and with his usual stern order of "Hang the fellow," against which no opposition ever availed, condemned him to the gallows. The soldier pleaded and maintained his innocence, but the irrevocable sentence had gone forth. "Hang then innocent," cried the inhuman Wallenstein, "the guilty will have then more reason to tremble." Preparations were already making to put the sentence in execution, when the soldier, who gave himself up for lost, formed the desperate resolution of not dying without revenge. He fell furiously upon his judge, but was overpowered by numbers, and disarmed before he could execute his design. "Now, let him go," said the Duke, "this will excite sufficient terror."

His munificence was supported by immense revenues, which were valued at three millions of florins yearly, without reckoning the enormous sums which he received by contributions. His

freedom of thought, and clear understanding, raised him above the religious prejudices of his age; and the Jesuits never forgave him for having seen through their system, and beheld in the Pope nothing but a Roman Bishop.

But as, since the days of Samuel the Prophet, no one has ever yet come to a fortunate end who has quarrelled with the Church, Wallenstein was also destined to augment the number of its victims. Through the intrigues of monks, he lost at Ratisbon the command of the army, and at Egra his life; by the same arts, perhaps, he lost what was of more consequence, his honourable name and reputation with posterity.

For it must in justice be admitted, that the history of this extraordinary man has been transmitted to us by no impartial hand, and that the treachery of the Duke, and his designs upon the throne of Bohemia, rest not so much upon proof, as upon probability and suspicion. No documents have yet been found, which disclose with historical certainty the secret motives of his conduct; and among all the actions which are generally ascribed to him, there is perhaps none which is not reconcileable with the supposition of innocence. Many of his most obnoxious measures proved nothing but the earnest wish he entertained for peace; most of the others are explained and justified by the well-founded distrust he entertained of the Emperor, and the excusable wish of maintaining his own importance. His conduct towards the Elector of Bavaria, it is true, bears the impress of an unworthy feeling of revenge; but none of his actions perhaps, justify us in holding that his treason is proved. If necessity and despair at last

drove him to merit the sentence which had been pronounced against him while innocent, his ultimate conduct cannot justify that sentence ; he was not punished because he was a rebel, but he became a rebel because he was unjustly condemned. It was a misfortune for him while alive that he made a victorious party his enemy, and still more unfortunate for him when dead, that the same party survived to write his history.

# HISTORY

## OF THE

### THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

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#### BOOK V.

WALLENSTEIN'S death made a new generalissimo necessary ; and the Emperor, yielding at last to the persuasions of the Spaniards, conferred that rank upon his son Ferdinand, King of Hungary. Under him Count Gallas commanded, who performed the duties of General, while the Prince gave to this post nothing but the support of his name and his dignity. A considerable force was soon assembled under Ferdinand's colours ; auxiliary troops were brought up by the Duke of Lorraine in person, and the Cardinal Infant advanced from Italy with 10,000 men, to reinforce his army. In order to drive the enemy from the Danube, the new general undertook the enterprise in which his predecessor had failed, the siege of Ratisbon.

It was in vain that Duke Bernard of Weimar penetrated into the interior of Bavaria, in order to draw the enemy from the town; Ferdinand pressed the siege with vigour, and the city, after a most obstinate resistance, surrendered. Donauwerth soon afterwards shared the same fate, and Nordlingen in Swabia was now invested. The loss of so many cities of the empire was the more severely felt by the Swedish party; because, as the friendship of these towns had so decisively contributed to the success of their arms, any appearance of indifference to their fate would have been the less excusable. It would have loaded them with indelible disgrace had they abandoned their confederates in time of need, and abandoned them to the revenge of an implacable conqueror. Moved by these considerations, the Swedish army, under the command of Horn, and Bernard of Weimar, advanced upon Nordlingen, determined, even at the expense of a battle, to relieve that town.

The undertaking was a dangerous one, for the enemy's force was considerably superior to that of the Swedes. There was also this additional reason for avoiding a battle at present, that the enemy's force was likely soon to separate; the Italian troops being destined for the Netherlands. In the meantime a position might be taken up, so as to cover Nordlingen, and cut off the enemy's supplies. All these grounds were stated by Gustavus Horn in the Swedish council of war; but his remonstrances made no impression upon minds, which, intoxicated by a long career of success, mistook the suggestions of prudence for the voice of timidity. Borne down by the superior influence of Duke Bernard, Gustavus Horn was unwillingly

compelled to risk a contest, the unfavourable issue of which a foreboding presentiment seemed to announce to him. The whole fate of the battle depended upon the possession of an eminence which commanded the Imperial camp. The attempt to gain possession of it during the night failed, as the tedious operation of transporting the artillery through woods and hollow ways delayed the march of the troops. On reaching it about midnight, the enemy were found in possession of the heights, which were defended by strong batteries. They waited therefore for day-break, to commence the storm. The impetuous bravery of the Swedes penetrated through every obstacle; the entrenchments, which were in the form of a crescent, were fortunately scaled by each of the brigades which were sent against them; but as both entered at the same time from opposite sides, they met and confused each other. At this unfortunate moment it happened that a barrel of powder blew up, and created the greatest disorder among the Swedes. The Imperial cavalry broke in upon the scattered ranks, and the flight became general. No persuasion on the part of their general could induce the fugitives to renew the attack.

He resolved, therefore, in order to maintain this important post, to detach fresh troops to this position. But in the meantime some Spanish regiments had taken possession of it, and every attempt to carry it was baffled by the heroic bravery of these troops. One of the Duke's regiments, which had been sent against it, advanced several times to the attack, and was as often repulsed. The disadvantage of not occupying this post in



time, was soon perceived. The fire of the enemy's artillery from the heights caused such slaughter in the adjacent wing of the Swedes, that Gustavus Horn who commanded it, was compelled to retreat. Instead of being able to cover the retreat of his colleague, and to check the pursuit of the enemy, Duke Bernard, overpowered by numbers, was himself driven into the plain, where his flying cavalry threw the troops of Horn into confusion, till the defeat and flight became universal. Nearly the whole of the infantry were killed or taken prisoners. More than 12,000 men fell upon the field of battle; 80 cannon, about 4000 waggons, and 300 standards and colours fell into the hands of the Imperialists. Gustavus Horn himself, with three other generals, were taken prisoners. Duke Bernard with difficulty saved some feeble remnants of his army, who rejoined him at Frankfort.

The defeat at Nordlingen cost the Swedish Chancellor the second sleepless night he had passed in Germany. The consequences of this disaster were terrible. The Swedes had now lost their superiority in the field, and with it the confidence of their confederates, for which they were indebted solely to their previous military success. A dangerous division threatened the whole Protestant Union with destruction. Consternation and terror seized upon the whole party; while the Catholics arose with exulting triumph from the humiliation into which they had fallen. Swabia and the adjacent Circles experienced the first consequences of the defeat of Nordlingen; and Wirtemberg, in particular, was overrun by the conquering army. All the members of the League of Heilbronn trembled at the prospect of

the Emperor's revenge ; those who had the means of flight hurried to Strasburg, while the helpless Imperial cities awaited their fate with anxiety. A little more moderation towards the vanquished would have reduced all these weaker states under the command of the Emperor. But the severity with which even those who voluntarily surrendered were treated, drove the rest to despair, and animated them to a vigorous resistance.

In this embarrassment all looked for advice and assistance to Oxenstiern ; Oxenstiern applied for both to the German States. He wanted troops, he wanted money to raise new levies, and to pay to the old the arrears for which they were so clamorous. Oxenstiern addressed himself to the Elector of Saxony ; but he had abandoned the Swedish cause to enter into a negotiation for peace with the Emperor at Pirna. He solicited aid from the Lower Saxon States ; but they, long wearied of the Swedish pretensions and demands for money, now thought only of themselves ; and George Duke of Lunenburg, in place of flying to the assistance of Upper Germany, laid siege to Minden, with the intention of keeping possession of it for himself. Abandoned by his German allies, the Chancellor exerted himself to obtain the assistance of foreign powers. England, Holland, and Venice, were applied to for troops and money ; and, impelled by necessity, the Chancellor reluctantly resolved to take the step which he had so long avoided, and to throw himself under the protection of France.

The moment had at last come which Richelieu had awaited with such impatience. Nothing, he was aware, but the impossibility of saving them-

selves, in any other way, could induce the Protestant States in Germany to favour the pretensions of France upon Alsace. But this necessity had at last arrived ; the assistance of France was indispensable, and that kingdom was indeed fully recompensed for the active part which it henceforth took in the German war. It opened its career upon the political theatre with splendour. Oxenstiern, who felt little reluctance in bestowing the rights and possessions of the empire, had already ceded the fortress of Philipsburg, and the other places which had been required by Richelieu. The Protestants of Upper Germany now, in their own names, sent a special embassy to Richelieu, requesting him to take Alsace, the fortress of Breyssach, which was still in the hands of the enemy, and all the places upon the Upper Rhine, which formed the key of Germany, under the protection of France. The meaning of that term was already sufficiently obvious, from the conduct of France in the Bishopricks of Mentz, Toul and Verdun, which it had held out for centuries against the rightful possessors. Treves was already in the possession of French garrisons ; Lorraine was in a manner conquered, as it might at any time be overrun by an army, and could not, by its own strength, withstand the power of its formidable neighbour. France now enjoyed the prospect of adding Alsace to its extensive possessions, and of rendering the Rhine its natural boundary towards Germany, as it had already done with the Dutch in the Spanish Netherlands. Thus shamefully were the rights of Germany sacrificed by the German States to this treacherous and avaricious power, which, under the mask of a

disinterested friendship, aimed only at its own aggrandizement ; and while it boldly claimed the honourable title of a Protectress, was employed only in extending its own schemes, and promoting its own interests amidst the general confusion.

In return for these important concessions, France engaged to effect a division in favour of the Swedes, by commencing hostilities against the Spaniards ; and if it should be necessary to come to an open breach with the Emperor, to maintain an army upon the German side of the Rhine, which, in conjunction with the Swedes and Germans, was to act against Austria. The Spaniards themselves afforded the wished for pretext for a war. They made an inroad from the Netherlands upon the city of Treves, cut the French garrison in the town to pieces, and, contrary to the rights of nations, made prisoner the Elector, who had placed himself under the protection of France, and carried him into Flanders. When the Cardinal Infant, as Viceroy of the Spanish Netherlands, refused the King of France the satisfaction he demanded, and hesitated to restore the Prince to liberty, Richelieu, after the old custom, formally proclaimed war against Brussels by a herald, and the war was actually opened by three different armies in Milan, in the Valteline, and in Flanders. The French minister was less anxious to accelerate the war against the Emperor, in which fewer advantages were to be obtained, and greater difficulties were to be encountered. A fourth army, however, was detached across the Rhine into Germany, under the command of Cardinal Lavalette, which, in conjunction with Duke Bernard, was to take the field

against the Emperor, without any previous declaration of war.

A far severer blow for the Swedes, than even the defeat of Nordlingen, was the reconciliation of the Elector of Saxony with the Emperor, which, after repeated attempts both to further and to prevent it, finally took place in 1634, at Pirna, and was reduced into a formal treaty of peace the following year at Prague. The Elector of Saxony could never be reconciled to the pretensions of the Swedes in Germany; and his aversion to this foreign power, which now gave laws within the empire, had increased with every new demand which Oxenstiern had made upon the German States. This dislike towards the Swedes was powerfully supported by the efforts of the Spanish Court, to effect a peace between Saxony and the Emperor. Wearied with the calamities of so long and so destructive a war, which seemed to have selected Saxony for its peculiar theatre, touched by the depth and extent of the miseries which friend and foe indiscriminately heaped upon his subjects, and won over by the seductive proposals of the House of Austria, the Elector at last abandoned the common cause, and, careless of the fate of his confederates, or of the liberties of Germany, thought only of securing his own advantages, even at the expense of the rest.

And, in truth, the misery of Germany had risen to such a height, that all voices were equally clamorous for peace upon any terms, however disadvantageous. Fields lay waste and desolate, which formerly had been peopled by thousands of active and industrious inhabitants, where nature

had expended its choicest gifts, and plenty and prosperity had reigned. The fields, abandoned by the industrious husbandman, lay waste and uncultivated; and where a young crop, or the promise of a smiling harvest appeared, the march of a single army destroyed the labours of a year, and blasted the last hope of a suffering peasantry. Burnt castles, waste fields, villages in ashes, extended far and wide around, while their ruined inhabitants were driven to increase the horde of the incendiaries, and to retaliate upon their fellow-citizens, who had escaped the miseries which they themselves had suffered. There was no other protection against oppression, than that of becoming an oppressor. The towns groaned under the scourge of undisciplined and predatory garrisons, who wasted the property of the citizens, availed themselves to the utmost of the freedom of war, the license allowed by their own condition, and the advantages which they derived from the necessities of others. Though the brief march of a single army converted whole provinces into desarts, though others were impoverished by winter quarterings, or exhausted by contributions, these were still but passing evils, and the industry of a year might efface the miseries of a few months; but for those who had a garrison within their walls, or in the neighbourhood, no such redress was to be hoped for; their unfortunate fate could not be improved even by the change of fortune, since the victor trode in the steps of the vanquished, and friend and foe treated them with equal severity. The abandonment of the fields, the destruction of the crops, and the constant succession of armies which overran the exhausted country, were inevi-

tably followed by famine and the high price of provisions, which was latterly increased by a general sterility. The crowding together of men in camps and quarterings—want upon one side, and excess on the other, occasioned contagious disorders, which proved more fatal than even fire and sword. All the bonds of social order were dissolved in this long-continued confusion;—respect for the rights of men, the fear of the laws, purity of morals, fidelity and religion, were forgotten, where all was governed by the iron sceptre of strength. All vices flourished under the protection of anarchy and impunity, and men became savage like the country itself. No situation was so dignified as to afford protection against outrage, no property safe from necessity and avarice; to express the misery of the period in a single word, the soldier ruled; and that most brutal of despots frequently made his own officer feel his power. The leader of an army was a far more dignified person within the country where he appeared, than the legitimate sovereign, who was frequently obliged to take refuge within his own castles. Germany swarmed with these petty tyrants, and the country groaned equally under its enemies and its protectors. These wounds were the more grievous, when it is recollected that Germany was the victim of the avarice of foreign powers, who prolonged the miseries of war for their own purposes. Germany was bleeding under the scourge of war, to promote the interests and extend the conquests of Sweden, and the torch of discord was kept alive within the empire, that the services of Richelieu might be rendered indispensable in France.

But it was not merely interested voices which



opposed a peace ; and if both Sweden and the German States were anxious, from such motives, to prolong the war, they were, in this instance, seconded by the dictates of a sound policy. An advantageous peace could no longer be expected from the Emperor, after the defeat of Nordlingen. And if this could not be obtained, would they not have borne the miseries of war for sixteen years, and exhausted their strength, to quit the contest after all, at least without disadvantage, or rather with loss ? What availed the blood that had been shed, if every thing was to remain as it had been ; if their rights and pretensions were neither increased nor secured ; if all that had been won with so much difficulty was to be sacrificed by a peace ? Was it not better to support, for two or three years longer, the burden they had borne so long, and to reap at last some recompense for twenty years of suffering ? Nor was it doubtful, that an advantageous peace might be obtained, if the Swedes and the German Protestants only continued firm in the cabinet and in the field, and pursued their common interests with a reciprocal sympathy, and united zeal. It was their division alone, that rendered the enemy formidable, and protracted the hope of obtaining a prosperous and permanent peace ; and this greatest of all evils, the Elector of Saxony had occasioned to the Protestant cause, by the separate treaty into which he had entered with Austria.

He had commenced his negotiations with the Emperor, even before the defeat of Nordlingen ; but the unfortunate issue of that battle accelerated the conclusion of the treaty. All confidence in the assistance of the Swedes was gone ; and doubts

were entertained whether they would ever recover the blow they had received. The division which existed among their generals, the insubordination of the army, and the exhaustion of the Swedish kingdom, gave little reason to expect any effective assistance on their part. He hastened, therefore, to avail himself the more readily of the Emperor's magnanimity, who, even after the battle of Nordlingen, did not recall the offers he had made. Oxenstiern, who had assembled the States in Frankfort, made demands upon them. The Emperor, on the contrary, made concessions; and, therefore, no long consideration was necessary to determine his choice.

In the meantime, however, he was anxious to avoid the appearance of sacrificing the common cause, and attending only to his own interests. All the German States, and even the Swedes, were publicly invited to co-operate and participate in this peace, although Saxony and the Emperor were the only powers who concluded it, and assumed to themselves the right of giving law to Germany. The grievances of the Protestant States were discussed; their rights and privileges decided by this arbitrary tribunal; and even the fate of their religion determined, without the presence of the members, who were so deeply interested in it. A general peace was resolved on, and was to be carried into effect by an Imperial army of execution, as a formal decree of the empire. Whoever opposed this measure, was to be considered a public enemy; and thus, contrary to their rights, the States were to be compelled to acknowledge a law, in the passing

of which they had no share. The peace at Prague was thus, even in its form, an arbitrary measure ; nor was it less so in its contents. The Edict of Restitution had been the chief cause of the breach between the Elector and the Emperor ; and, therefore, it was first taken into consideration upon their reconciliation. Without expressly and formally recalling it, it was determined, by the treaty of Prague, that all the chapters holding immediately of the empire, and those among the mediate ones, which had been taken possession of by the Protestants after the treaty at Passau, should remain in the same situation as they had been in, before the Edict of Restitution ; but without any formal decision of the diet to that effect. Before the elapse of these forty years, a Commission, composed of equal numbers of both religions, should proceed to dispose of the matter peaceably, and according to law ; and if these should be unable to come to a decision, each party should remain in possession of the rights which it had exercised before the Edict of Restitution. This result, therefore, far from destroying the seeds of discord, suspended only for a time its destructive effects, and the sparks of a new war lay concealed beneath this article of the treaty of Prague.

The bishoprick of Magdeburg was to remain in possession of Prince Augustus of Saxony, and Halberstadt in that of the Archduke Leopold William. Four estates were taken from the territory of Magdeburg, and given to Saxony ; the Administrator of Magdeburg, Christian William of Brandenburg, was to be indemnified in another manner. The Dukes of Mecklenburg, by acced-

ing to this peace, were to receive back their territories, of which they had been already put in possession by the magnanimity of Gustavus Adolphus. Donauwerth recovered its liberties. The important claims of the heirs of the Palatine, however important the possession of that Electorate might be for the Protestant cause, were unattended to, from the dissensions and the animosity which subsisted between the Lutheran and the Calvinist party. All the conquests which had been made in the course of the war by the German States, the League and the Emperor, were to be mutually restored; all which had been appropriated by the foreign powers of France and Sweden was to be forcibly wrested from them by the united powers. The troops of the contracting parties were to be formed into one Imperial army, which, supported and paid by the empire, was to carry this peace into execution by force of arms.

As the peace of Prague was to operate as a general law of the empire, those points, which did not more immediately belong to the latter, formed the subject of a separate treaty. By this treaty Lusatia was ceded to the Elector of Saxony as a fief of Bohemia, and particular arrangements made with regard to the freedom of religion of this country and of Silesia.

All the Protestant States were invited to take part in the peace of Prague, and were on that condition to obtain the benefit of the amnesty. The Princes of Wurtemberg and Baden alone, of whose territories the Emperor was already in possession, and which he did not feel inclined to restore unconditionally, the subjects of Austria who had borne arms against their Sovereign, and those

States who, under the direction of Oxenstiern, had composed the Council of the Upper German Circle, were excluded from the treaty,—not so much with the view of continuing the war against them, as of compelling them to purchase peace at a dearer rate. Their territories were to be retained in pledge till every thing should be restored to its former footing. Equal justice towards all, would perhaps have restored confidence between the head of the empire and its members—between the Protestants and Catholics—between the Reformed and the Lutheran party; and the Swedes, abandoned by all their Allies, might have been compelled to retreat from Germany with disgrace. But this unequal treatment of the States strengthened the spirit of mistrust and opposition, and rendered it easy for the Swedes to keep alive the flame of war, and to maintain a party in Germany.

The peace of Prague, as was to be expected, was received with very various feelings throughout Germany. In the attempt to reconcile both parties, it had been rendered obnoxious to both. The Protestants complained of the restraints to which they had been subjected by this peace; the Catholics thought that the interests of their rivals had been but too much attended to at the expense of their own. In the opinion of the latter, the Church had been deprived of its inalienable rights by the forty years' possession of the Ecclesiastical benefices which had been granted to the Protestants; in that of the former, the interests of the Protestant Church had been betrayed, because religious toleration had not been obtained for their confederates in the Austrian dominions.

But no one was more bitterly blamed than the Elector of Saxony, who was publicly represented as a deserter, a traitor to religion and the liberties of the empire, and a confederate of the Emperor.

In the meantime, he consoled himself with the triumph of compelling most of the Protestant States to embrace this peace. The Elector of Brandenburg, Duke William of Weimar, the Princes of Anhalt, the Dukes of Mecklenburg, the Dukes of Brunswick Lunenburg, the Hanse-towns, and most of the Imperial cities, acceded to it. The Landgrave William of Hesse remained for some time irresolute, or rather affected to do so, in order to gain time, and to regulate his measures by the issue. He had forcibly conquered several fertile territories in Westphalia, from which he derived his chief resources for the continuance of the war, and all of which, by the terms of the treaty, he would now be compelled to restore. Bernard, Duke of Weimar, whose states, as yet, existed only on paper, was to be considered not as a belligerent power, but as a general; and, in either view, he must equally be disposed to reject the treaty of Prague. His whole riches consisted in his bravery, his possessions in his sword. War alone gave him greatness and importance, and war alone could realize the projects which his ambition suggested to him.

But of all who declared against the treaty of Prague, none were so loud in their clamours as the Swedes, and none had so much reason for their opposition. Called into Germany by the Germans themselves, the champions of the Protestant Church and the freedom of the States,

which they had purchased with so much bloodshed, and with the sacred life of their King, they saw themselves at once shamefully abandoned, deceived in all their plans, banished, without gratitude and without reward, from the empire for which they had toiled and bled, and exposed to the ridicule of the enemy by the very Princes who were so deeply indebted to them. No satisfaction, no indemnification for the expenses which they had incurred, no equivalent for the conquests which they were to leave behind them, was provided to them by the treaty of Prague. They were to be dismissed poorer than they came, or, if they resisted, to be expelled by the same hands which had invited them into Germany. The Elector of Saxony at last hinted at indemnification in money, and mentioned the sum of two millions five hundred thousand florins; but the Swedes had already expended a far greater sum, and this disgraceful equivalent in money was injurious to their pride. "The Electors of Bavaria and Saxony," replied Oxenstiern, "were paid for the services they rendered to the Emperor, and which, as vassals, they were bound to render, with the possession of important provinces; and shall we, who have sacrificed our King for Germany, be dismissed with the miserable sum of 2,500,000 florins?" The disappointment of their expectations was the more severe, because the Swedes had calculated upon being paid for their services with the Dutchy of Pomerania, the present possessor of which was old and without issue. But the succession of this territory was confirmed by the treaty of Prague to the Elector of Brandenburg; and all the neighbouring powers declared against



allowing the Swedes to obtain a footing within the territories of the empire.

Never, in the whole course of the war, had the prospects of the Swedes been more unfavourable than in the year 1635, immediately after the announcement of the peace of Prague. Many of their allies, particularly among the free cities, abandoned their party to obtain the benefit of the peace; others were compelled to accede to it by the victorious arms of the Emperor. Augsburg, subdued by famine, submitted under the severest conditions; Wurtzburg and Coburg were conquered by the Imperialists. The League of Heilbronn was formally dissolved. Nearly the whole of Upper Germany, the chief seat of the Swedish power, acknowledged the authority of the Emperor. Saxony, founding upon the treaty of Prague, demanded the evacuation of Thuringia, Halberstadt, and Magdeburg. Philipsburg, the military depot of France, was surprised by the Austrians, with all the stores it contained; and this important loss weakened the activity of France. To complete the embarrassments of the Swedes, the truce with Poland was drawing to a close. To maintain a war at once with Poland and in Germany, far exceeded the power of Sweden; and all that remained was to choose between them. Pride and ambition decided in favour of the continuation of the German war, at whatever sacrifice towards Poland. Still, however, an army was necessary to command respect on the part of Poland, and to secure some liberty of choice, in any negotiations which might take place for a truce or a peace. The mind of Oxenstiern, firm, and inexhaustible in expedients, arrayed itself against these

calamities, which had thus at once overwhelmed Sweden ; and his penetrating understanding taught him how to turn even the misfortunes he had experienced to his advantage. It was true the defection of so many German cities of the empire deprived him of a great part of his former allies, but it freed him at the same time of all reserve with regard to them. The more the number of his enemies increased, the more provinces and magazines were opened to his troops. The gross ingratitude of the States, and the haughty contempt with which he was treated by the Emperor (who did not even condescend to treat with him directly about a peace), excited in him a feeling of despair, and a noble resolution to maintain the struggle to the last. The continuation of war, however unfortunate, could not render the situation of Sweden worse than it now was ; and if Germany was to be evacuated, it was at least better and nobler to do so sword in hand, to yield to force, and not to fear.

In the extremity in which the Swedes were now placed by the desertion of their allies, they addressed themselves to France, who met them with the most encouraging offers of assistance. The interest of the two crowns was united in the closest manner, and France would have been acting against itself, had it allowed the power of Sweden to decline in Germany. The helpless situation of the Swedes, on the contrary, was an additional inducement to France to cement more closely their mutual alliance, and to take a more active part in the German war. From the conclusion of alliance with the Swedes at Beerwald in 1632, France had maintained the war against the Em-

peror, by the arms of Gustavus Adolphus, without any public or formal breach, by means of the supplies which it furnished to his opponents, and its activity in increasing their number. But alarmed at the unexpected rapidity and extraordinary success of the Swedish arms, France seemed, for a time, to have lost sight of its first view, in its anxiety to restore the balance of power, which the preponderance of the Swedes threatened to endanger. It endeavoured to protect the Catholic princes of the empire against the Swedish conqueror by the treaties of neutrality, and when these failed, was meditating to take arms against him. But no sooner was this apprehension dispelled by the death of Gustavus Adolphus, and the helpless situation of the Swedish affairs, than it returned with renewed zeal to the prosecution of its first design, and readily afforded to the unfortunate that assistance which she had refused them in the hour of success. Freed from the resistance which the ambition and vigilance of Gustavus Adolphus had opposed to its plans of aggrandisement, France availed herself of the favourable opportunity afforded by the defeat of Nordlingen, to obtain the entire direction of the war, and to prescribe laws to those who stood in need of its powerful protection. The moment seemed favourable to its boldest plans, and those which had formerly appeared merely chimerical, now appeared to be justified by the state of circumstances. It now directed its whole attention to the German war; and, as soon as it had secured its private ends by a treaty with the Germans, appeared, at once, as an active and a commanding power in the political theatre.

While the other belligerent powers had been exhausting themselves in a tedious contest, it had been sparing its strength and maintaining the war by money alone ; but now, when the state of circumstances required activity, it seized the sword, and, by the boldness and magnitude of its undertakings, astonished Europe. At the same moment it fitted out two fleets, and sent six different armies into the field, while, by its supplies, it supported a foreign crown and several of the German princes. Animated by the hope of its powerful protection, the Swedes and Germans awoke from the consternation into which they had fallen, and ventured, sword in hand, to renew the contest, in the hope of obtaining a more honourable peace than that of Prague. Abandoned by their confederates, who had entered into a reconciliation with the Emperor, they cemented their alliance more closely with France, which, as the necessity for its assistance became stronger, took a more active, though still a secret share in the German war, until at last it threw aside the mask, and declared war, in its own name, against the Emperor.

In order to leave Sweden at full liberty to act against Austria, France commenced its operations by endeavouring to terminate the Polish war. By means of its minister the Count d'Avaux, an agreement was concluded between the two powers at Sturmsdorf in Prussia, by which the truce was prolonged for twenty-six years, though not without great loss on the part of the Swedes, who ceded, by a single stroke of the pen, almost the whole of Polish Prussia, the dear-bought conquest of Gustavus Adolphus. The treaty of Beerwald was, with certain alterations, which circumstances

rendered necessary, renewed at different times at Compiègne, and afterwards at Wismar and Hamburg. France had, already, come to a rupture with Spain, in May 1635, and, by the vigorous attack which it made upon that power, the Emperor was deprived of his most important auxiliaries from the Netherlands. By his supporting the Landgrave William of Cassel and Duke Bernard of Weimar, the Swedes were enabled to act with more vigour upon the Elbe and the Danube, and the Emperor was compelled to divide his force by a powerful diversion upon the Rhine.

The war was now prosecuted with increasing activity. By the treaty of Prague, the Emperor had diminished the number of his opponents within the empire, though he had, at the same time, increased the zeal and activity of his foreign enemies. In Germany his influence was almost unlimited, for, with the exception of a few States, he had rendered himself absolute master of the German body and its resources, and was again enabled to act in the character of Emperor and Sovereign. The first result of this alteration was the elevation of his son Ferdinand III, to the dignity of King of the Romans, in which he prevailed by a decided plurality of voices, notwithstanding the opposition of Treves, and of the heirs of the Elector Palatine. But, on the other hand, he had driven the Swedes to despair, armed the power of France against him, and drawn its troops into the heart of the kingdom. France and Sweden, with their German allies, formed, from this moment, one firm and connected power; the Emperor, with the German States which adhered to him, the other. The Swedes, who no longer fought

for Germany, but for their own existence, showed no more indulgence ; they acted with more rapidity and boldness, because they were relieved from the necessity of consulting their German allies, or accounting to them for the plans which they adopted. Battles, though less decisive, became more obstinate and bloody ; greater exploits, both in point of bravery and of military skill, were performed ; but these actions were insulated ; and being neither dictated by any consistent plan, nor improved by any commanding spirit, were, comparatively, unimportant to the whole, and had little influence upon the course of the war.

Saxony had engaged, by the treaty of Prague, to expel the Swedes from Germany. From this moment the once hostile banners of the Saxons were united with those of the Imperialists, while those who had formerly been confederates, were converted into implacable enemies. The Bishopric of Magdeburg, which, by the treaty of Prague, was promised to a prince of Saxony, was still in the hands of the Swedes, and every attempt to obtain possession of it, by negotiation, had proved ineffectual. Hostilities commenced, by the Elector of Saxony recalling all his subjects from the army of Banner, which was encamped upon the Rhine. The officers, long irritated by the retention of their arrears, obeyed the summons, and evacuated one quarter after another. As the Saxons, at the same time, made a movement towards Mecklenburg, to take Dömitz, and to drive the Swedes from Pomerania and the Baltic, Banner suddenly marched thither, relieved Dömitz, and totally defeated the Saxon army of General Baudissin, amounting

to 7000 men, 1000 of whom were killed upon the spot, and about the same number taken prisoners. Reinforced by the troops and artillery, which had hitherto been employed in Polish Prussia, but which could now be spared in that quarter, since the treaty of Sturmsdorf, this brave and impetuous general, the following year, (1636), made a sudden inroad into the electorate of Saxony, where he gratified his hatred against the Saxons, by the most destructive ravages. Irritated by the recollection of old grievances, which he and the Swedes had suffered from the Saxons, during their common campaigns, and now exasperated to the utmost, by the late defection of the Elector, the unfortunate inhabitants were doomed to experience the full weight of their rancour and revenge. Against Austria and Bavaria, the Swedish soldiers had fought, rather from a feeling of duty; but against the Saxons, they contended with all the energy of private hatred and personal revenge, because they detested them as deserters and traitors; and no hatred is so fierce and irreconcilable, as that which subsists between foes who were formerly friends. The powerful diversion made by the Duke of Weimar, and the Landgrave of Hesse, upon the Rhine and in Westphalia, prevented the Emperor from affording the necessary assistance to Saxony, and left the whole electorate exposed to the destructive ravages of Banner's army.

At length the Elector, having formed a junction with the Imperial General Hatzfeld, advanced against Magdeburg, which Banner hastened to relieve, but in vain. The united army



of the Imperialists and the Saxons, spread itself over Brandenburg, wrested several places from the Swedes, and almost drove them to the shores of the Baltic. But, contrary to all expectation, Banner, whose circumstances appeared to every one to be desperate, attacked the allies, on the 24th September 1636, at Wittsbach, where a bloody battle took place. The onset was terrible; and the whole force of the enemy fell on the right wing of the Swedes, led on by Banner in person. The contest lasted on both sides for a long time, with equal animosity and obstinacy. There was scarcely a squadron among the Swedes, which did not advance ten times to the attack, and was as often repulsed; when at last, Banner was obliged to yield to the superiority of the enemy. His left wing maintained the combat until night; and the second line of the Swedes, which had not been engaged, was prepared to renew it the next morning. But the Elector of Saxony was not disposed to await a second attack. His army was exhausted by the efforts of the preceding day; and as the drivers had disappeared with the horses, he could not avail himself of his artillery. He, therefore, took to flight the same night with Count Hatzfeld, and left the field of battle to the Swedes. About 5000 of the allies fell upon the field of battle; not including those who were killed by the Swedish pursuers, or who fell into the hands of the exasperated peasantry. One hundred and fifty standards and colours, 23 cannon, the whole baggage and silver plate of the Elector, were taken; and more than 2000 men taken prisoners. This brilliant victory, obtained over an enemy far superior in numbers, and placed in

a most advantageous position, restored the Swedes, at once, to their former reputation ; their enemies were discouraged, the hopes of their friends began to revive. Banner availed himself of this decisive success, hastened across the Elbe, and drove the Imperialists through Thuringia and Hesse, into Westphalia. He then returned, and took up his winter-quarters in Saxony.

But, without the assistance which he had received from the diversion effected upon the Rhine by the activity of Duke Bernard and the French, these important successes would have been unattainable. Duke Bernard, after the defeat of Nordlingen, had collected the scattered fragments of his army at Wetterau ; but, abandoned by the League of Heilbronn, which had been completely put an end to by the peace of Prague, and receiving little support from the Swedes, he found himself unable to maintain an army, or to attempt any enterprise of importance at its head. The defeat at Nordlingen had put an end to all his hopes of the Dutchy of Franconia, while the weakness of the Swedes destroyed his chance of advancing his fortunes through the assistance of that power. Tired, too, of the constraint imposed upon him by the imperious pretensions of the Swedish Chancellor, he turned his attention to France, which might supply him with money, the only assistance which he required, and which readily acceded to his proposals. There was nothing for which Richelieu was more anxious, than to diminish the influence of the Swedes in the German war ; and, under the name of other powers, to obtain the direction of it for himself. For the attainment of this end, no means appeared to be more effectual,

than to detach from the Swedes their bravest general, to draw him into the interest of France, and to secure the assistance of his powerful arm for the execution of its projects. From a Prince like Bernard, who could not maintain himself without the assistance of a foreign power, France had nothing to fear, since no success, however brilliant, could render him independent of that crown. Bernard himself came into France, and, in October 1635, concluded a treaty with that crown at St Germaine en Laye, not as a Swedish general, but in his own name, by which he was to receive a yearly pension of one million five hundred thousand livres for himself, and four millions for the support of his army, which he was to command under the orders of the King of France. To increase the activity of his zeal, and to accelerate the conquest of Alsace, France did not hesitate, by a secret article, to promise him that province in recompense for his services ; a promise which Richelieu had little intention of performing, and which the Duke also estimated at its real worth. But Bernard confided in his good fortune, and in his arms, and met the artifices of Richelieu by a corresponding dissimulation. If he could once succeed in wresting Alsace from the enemy, he did not despair of being able to maintain it also, in case of need, against his friends. He now raised an army at the expense of France, which he commanded nominally under the direction of that power, but in reality without any limitation whatever, and without having wholly abandoned his engagements with Sweden. He began his operations upon the Rhine, where another French army, un-

der Cardinal Lavalette, had commenced hostilities against the Emperor in 1635.

The main army of the Imperialists, after the great victory of Nordlingen, and the subjection of Swabia and Franconia, had advanced against this force under the command of Gallas, had driven them as far as Mentz, cleared the Rhine, and took from the Swedes the towns of Mentz and Frankenthal, of which they were in possession. But his main object, that of taking up his winter-quarters in France, was frustrated by the vigorous resistance of the French; and he saw himself compelled to lead back his exhausted troops into Alsace and Swabia. At the opening of next year's campaign, he passed the Rhine at Breysach, and prepared to carry the war into the interior of France. He actually fell upon Burgundy, penetrated into Picardy; and John De Werth, a formidable general of the League, and a celebrated partisan, made his way into Champagne, and spread consternation even to the gates of Paris. But the bravery of the Imperialists received a complete check before an insignificant fortress in Franche Comte; and they were obliged a second time to abandon their enterprise.

The active spirit of Duke Bernard had hitherto been restrained by his dependence on a French General, better fitted to wear the priestly robe, than to wield the truncheon of command; and although, in conjunction with him, he conquered Alsace Saverne, he found himself unable, in the years 1636 and 1637, to maintain his position upon the Rhine. The bad success of the French arms in the Netherlands had diminished the activity of operations in Alsace and Breisgau; but in

1638, the war in that quarter took a more brilliant turn. Relieved from his former restraint, and now in the unlimited command of his troops, Duke Bernard, in the beginning of February, left his winter-quarters in the Bishoprick of Basle, and suddenly appeared upon the Rhine, where, at this rude season of the year, no attack was anticipated. The forest towns of Laufenburg, Waldschut and Seckingen, were surprised, and Rhinefeldt besieged. The Imperial general who commanded in that quarter, the Duke of Savelli, hastened by forced marches to the assistance of that place, succeeded in relieving it, and compelled the Duke of Weimar, with great loss, to retire. But, contrary to all human expectation, he appeared on the third day after (21st February 1638), in front of the Imperialists, and defeated them in a bloody battle, in which the four Imperial Generals, Savelli, John De Werth, Enkeford and Sperreuter, with 2000 men, were taken prisoners. Two of these, De Werth and Enkeford, were afterwards sent by Richelieu into France, to gratify the vanity of the French by the exhibition of prisoners of such importance, and to withdraw the attention of the populace from the public distress, by the pomp of military trophies. The captured standards and colours were, with the same view, carried in solemn procession to the church of Notre Dame, thrice exhibited before the altar, and committed to sacred custody.

The taking of Rhinefeldt, Röteln, and Fribourg, was the immediate consequence of the victory obtained by the Duke. His army now increased to a considerable number, and his projects expanded in proportion as fortune declared in his favour.

The fortress of Breysach upon the Rhine was supposed to command that stream, and was regarded as the key of Alsace. No place in this quarter was of more importance to the Emperor, and upon none had more care been bestowed. It was for the protection of Breysach that the Italian army, under the Duke of Feria, had been principally destined ; the strength of its works, and the advantages afforded by its situation, bade defiance to any assault, while the Imperial generals who commanded in that quarter, had orders to strain every nerve for its defence. But the Duke trusted to his good fortune, and resolved to attempt the siege. As its strength rendered it impregnable, it could only be starved into a surrender ; and the carelessness of the commandant, who, expecting no attack, had been selling off his stores, accelerated its fate. As under these circumstances the town could not long hold out against a siege, it was evident that it must be immediately relieved or supplied with provisions. The Imperial General Goetz rapidly advanced for this purpose at the head of 12,000 men, accompanied by 3000 waggons loaded with provisions, which he intended to throw into the place. But he was attacked by Duke Bernard at Witteweyer, and lost his whole force except 3000 men, together with the entire transport of provisions. The Duke of Lorraine, who, with 5000 or 6000 men, advanced to relieve the fortress, experienced a similar fate at Ochsenfeld near Thann. After a third attempt of General Goetz for the relief of Breysach had proved ineffectual, the fortress, reduced to the greatest extremity by famine, surrendered after a four months siege, on the 17th December 1638, to a con-

queror whose perseverance was equalled by his humanity.

The conquest of Breysach opened a boundless field to the ambition of the Duke of Weimar, and the visions which had filled his imagination now began to assume the appearance of reality. Far from intending to surrender his conquests to France, he destined Breysach for himself, and announced the intention, by the allegiance which he exacted from the vanquished, in his own name, and not in that of any other power. Intoxicated by his past success, and excited by the boldest hopes, he now believed that he should be able to maintain the conquests he had made against France herself. At a time when every thing depended upon bravery, when even personal strength was of importance, when troops and leaders were more valued than territory, it was natural for a hero like Bernard to place confidence in his own strength, and, at the head of an excellent army, who under his command felt itself invincible, to believe himself capable of effecting any design he might attempt. In order to secure himself one friend among the crowd of enemies with whom he was about to contend, he turned his eyes upon the Landgravine Amelia of Hesse, the widow of the lately deceased Landgrave William, a princess whose talents were equalled by her courage, and who, along with her hand, had the means of bestowing valuable conquests, an extensive principality, and a well disciplined army. By the union of the conquests of Hesse, with his own upon the Rhine, and the junction of their armies, a power of some importance, and perhaps a third party, might be formed in Germany, which might decide



the fate of the war. But a premature death put a period to these promising schemes.

“Courage, Father Joseph, Breysach is ours!” cried Richelieu to the Capuchin whom he now despatched into that quarter; so much was he delighted with this joyful intelligence. Already in imagination he had seized upon Alsace, Breisgau, and all the frontiers of Austria in that quarter, without regard to the promise which he had made to Duke Bernard. But the serious resolution which the latter had unequivocally announced, of keeping possession of Breysach for himself, placed the Cardinal in the greatest embarrassment, and no efforts were spared to retain the victorious Bernard in the interests of France. He was invited to court, to witness the festivities by which his triumph was to be commemorated; but he saw, and shunned the snare that was spread for him. The Cardinal even went so far as to offer him the hand of his niece in marriage; but the high-minded German prince declined the offer, and refused to sully the blood of Saxony by an inferior alliance. He was now considered as a dangerous enemy, and treated as such. His subsidies were withdrawn; and the Governor of Breysach and his principal officers were bribed (at least after the Duke's death) to take possession of his conquests, and to secure his troops. These artifices were no secret to the Duke, and the precautions he took in the places which he conquered, plainly evinced the distrust he felt towards France. But this rupture with the French court had the most prejudicial influence upon his future operations. The preparations he was obliged to make in order to

secure his conquests against an attack on the side of France, compelled him to divide his military strength, while the stoppage of his subsidies delayed his appearance in the field. He had intended to cross the Rhine, to give breathing-time to the Swedes, and to act against the Emperor and Bavaria on the banks of the Danube. He had already communicated his plan of operations to Banner, who meditated carrying the war into the Austrian territories, and had promised to enable him to do so, when a sudden death at Neuburg upon the Rhine, (in July 1639), terminated his career, in the 36th year of his age.

He died of a disorder resembling the plague, which, in the course of two days, carried off nearly 400 men in his camp. The black spots which appeared upon his body, his own expressions upon his death, and the advantages which France was likely to reap from his sudden decease, gave rise to a suspicion that he had been poisoned; a suspicion, however, which the nature of his disorder sufficiently refuted. In him the allies lost their greatest general after Gustavus Adolphus, while France was relieved of a formidable rival in Alsace, and the Emperor of his most dangerous enemy. Reared in the school of Gustavus Adolphus, in heroism and military skill, he successfully imitated his illustrious master, and wanted only a longer life to equal, if not to surpass his model. With the bravery of the soldier he united the calm and cool penetration of the general; with the persevering fortitude of the man, the daring resolution of youth; with the fire of the warrior, the dignity of the prince, the moderation of the wise man, and the conscientiousness of the

man of honour. Discouraged by no misfortune, his elastic spirit rose in all its vigour after the severest defeats; no obstacles could restrain his boldness, no disappointment triumph over his indomitable constancy. His mind, perhaps, laboured after objects which were unattainable; but spirits such as his are to be judged of by other rules than those by which the mass of men are guided; and, possessing the power of executing more than other men, he might be justified in forming plans more daring than those which would have been dictated by ordinary prudence. Bernard appears, in modern history, a noble example of those days of chivalry when personal greatness was the source of importance, when bravery could conquer provinces, and the heroic exploits of a German knight could raise him to the Imperial throne.

The best part of the Duke's possessions were his army, which, together with Alsace, he bequeathed to his brother William. But France and Sweden both thought that they had well-grounded claims to his army; the one because it had been raised in name of that Crown, and had done homage to it; the other, because it had been supported by its means. The Electoral Prince of the Palatinate also attempted, first by means of his agents, and latterly in his own person, to gain over the army to his interests, that he might employ it in the reconquest of his territories. Even the Emperor endeavoured to secure this army; nor need this excite our wonder, at a time when the justice of the cause was comparatively unimportant, and the extent of the recompense the main object to which the soldier looked; and when bravery, like every other commo-

dity, was disposed of to the highest bidder. But France, richer and more determined than its rivals, outbade all competitors: it bought over General Erlach, the commander of Breysach, and the other leaders, who soon placed that fortress, with the whole army, in their hands.

The young Palatine, Prince Charles Louis, who had already made an unsuccessful campaign against the Emperor, saw his expectations again deceived. With the intention of remonstrating with France on its conduct, he imprudently entered that kingdom. The Cardinal, who feared the justice of the Palatine's cause, was glad of any pretext to disappoint his views. He accordingly caused him to be seized at Moulin, in violation of the law of nations, and did not restore him to liberty, till he had been informed that the army of the Duke of Weimar had been secured. France was now in possession of a numerous and well disciplined army in Germany, and began, from thenceforth, openly to make war upon the Emperor in its own name.

But it was no longer against Ferdinand II. that its arms were to be directed; for that Prince had died in February 1637, in the 59th year of his age. The war which had been kindled by his ambition survived him. During an eighteen years' reign, he had never once laid aside the sword, or tasted the blessings of peace. Endowed with the qualities of a good sovereign, adorned with many of those virtues which constitute the happiness of a people, and naturally gentle and humane, we see him, from erroneous ideas of the duty of a monarch, become at once the instrument and the vic-

tim of the passions of others ; his benevolent intentions frustrated, and the friend of justice converted into the oppressor of mankind, the enemy of peace, and the scourge of his subjects. Amiable in his domestic life, and respectable as a sovereign, though ill advised in his policy, he was as much beloved by his Catholic subjects as he was detested by the Protestants. History presents us with greater and more cruel despots than Ferdinand II., and yet he alone has had the unfortunate celebrity of kindling a Thirty Years' War ; but his ambition must have combined with the state of the age, and with other causes and seeds of discord, before its consequences could have proved so destructive. At a more peaceful period the spark would have found no nourishment ; the calmness of all around would have silenced the voice of individual ambition ; but now the flash fell upon a high and wide pile of combustibles, long prepared for conflagration, and Europe was wrapped in flames.

His son, Ferdinand III., who a few months before his father's death, had been raised to the dignity of King of the Romans, inherited his throne, his principles, and the war which he had caused. But Ferdinand III. had seen more closely the sufferings of the people, and the devastation of the country, and felt more fully the necessity of peace. Less influenced by the Jesuits and the Spaniards, and more moderate towards both religions, he was more likely than his father to listen to the voice of reason. He did so, and at last restored the blessing of peace to Europe, but not till after a contest of eleven years with the sword and the pen ; not till after he had experienced the impossibility

of resistance, and was compelled to yield to the stern law of necessity.

Fortune was favourable to him at the commencement of his reign, and his arms were victorious against the Swedes. The latter, under the command of the victorious Banner, had, after their success at Wittstock, taken up their winter quarters in Saxony; and the campaign of 1637 opened with the siege of Leipzig. The vigorous resistance of the garrison, and the approach of the Electoral and Imperial armies saved the town, and Banner, to avoid being cut off from the Elbe, was compelled to retreat into Torgau. But the superior numbers of the Imperialists drove him even from that quarter; and, surrounded by the enemy, hemmed in by rivers, and pressed by famine, he was compelled to attempt a dangerous retreat into Pomerania, the boldness and successful issue of which border upon romance. The whole army crossed the Oder by a shallow place near Furstenberg; and the soldiers, even while up to the neck in water, dragged the cannon across, when the horses failed. Banner had expected to find General Wrangel on the farther side of the Oder in Pomerania; and, in conjunction with him, to be able to make head against the enemy. But Wrangel did not appear; and in his stead an Imperial army had posted itself at Landsberg, to cut off the retreat of the Swedes. Banner now saw that he had fallen into a dangerous snare, from which escape appeared impossible. In his rear lay an exhausted country, the Imperialists, and the Oder on his left; also the Oder, which being guarded by the Imperial General Bucheim, afforded no passage; in front, Landsberg, Custrin, the Warta,

and a hostile army; and on the right, Poland, in which, notwithstanding the truce, little confidence could be placed. In these circumstances, he saw that nothing but a miracle could save him, and the Imperialists were already triumphing in the certainty of his fall. Banner, with just indignation, accused the French as the authors of this misfortune. They had neglected their promised diversion upon the Rhine, and, by their inactivity, allowed the Emperor to direct his whole force against the Swedes. "When the day comes," cried the incensed General to the French army who followed the camp, "that the Swedes and Germans join their arms against France, we shall cross the Rhine with less ceremony." But reproaches were now useless, energy and resolution alone could prevail. In the hope of decoying the enemy from the Oder, Banner pretended to direct his march towards Poland, despatched the greater part of his baggage in this direction, and sent his wife, with the wives of the other officers, by this route. The Imperialists immediately hurried towards the Polish frontier to block up the route; Bucheim left his station, and the Oder was stripped of its defenders. Banner on a sudden, and under cloud of night, turned towards that river, and crossed it about a mile above Custrin, with his troops, baggage, and artillery, without bridges or vessels, as he had done before at Furstenberg. He reached Pomerania without loss, and prepared to share with Wrangel the defence of that province.

But the Imperialists, under the command of Gallas, entered that dutchy at Ribses, and overran it by their superior strength. Usedom and Wol-



gast were taken by storm, Demmin capitulated, and the Swedes were driven far into Lower Pomerania. At this moment, too, it was more important for them than ever to maintain a footing in that country, for Bogislaus XIV. had died that year, and Sweden was now determined to enforce its claims on Pomerania. To prevent the Elector of Brandenburg from establishing his claims to that dutchy, founded on the treaty of Prague, it now exerted its utmost strength, and supported its generals to the utmost, both with troops and money. In other quarters of the kingdom, too, the affairs of the Swedes began to wear a more favourable aspect, and to recover from the humiliation into which they had been thrown by the inactivity of France, and the desertion of their allies. For, after their hasty retreat into Pomerania, they had lost one place after another in Upper Saxony; the princes of Mecklenburg, pressed by the arms of the Emperor, began to lean to the side of Austria, and even George Duke of Lunenburg declared against them. Ehrenbreitstein was starved into a surrender by the Bavarian General de Werth, and the Austrians made themselves masters of all the batteries erected on the Rhine. France had been the sufferer in the contest with Spain; and the event had by no means justified the pompous preparations with which the war against that crown had commenced. Every thing which the Swedes possessed in the interior of Germany was lost; and now only the principal towns in Pomerania remained in their possession. But a single campaign rescued them from this state of humiliation; and by means of the powerful diversion of the Imperialists, effected by the victo-

rious Bernard upon the Rhine, a new aspect was at once given to the war.

The misunderstandings which had existed between France and Sweden were adjusted, and the former treaty between these powers confirmed at Hamburg, with most favourable conditions for the Swedes. In Hesse, the prudent Landgrayine Amelia assumed the government, with the approbation of the States, after the death of her husband William, and resolutely maintained her rights against the opposition of the Emperor, and of the line of Darmstadt. Meantime the Swedish-Protestant party, zealously attached to their religion, awaited only a favourable opportunity, openly to declare themselves. They had succeeded by artful delays, and by prolonging the negotiation with the Emperor, in rendering him inactive till their secret alliance with France was concluded, and the victories of Duke Bernard had given a favourable turn to the affairs of the Protestants. They now at once threw off the mask, and renewed their former alliance with the Swedish crown. The Electoral Prince of the Palatinate was also incited, by the success of Bernard, to try his fortune against the common enemy. He raised troops in Holland with English money, formed a magazine at Meppen, and joined the Swedes in Westphalia. His magazine was lost; his army defeated near Flotha by Count Hatzfeld; but his attempt had for some time occupied the attention of the enemy, and facilitated the operations of the Swedes in other quarters. Other friends began to appear as fortune declared in their favour; and the circumstance, that the States of Lower Saxony embraced

a neutrality, would have been itself no inconsiderable advantage for their affairs.

Favoured by these important advantages, and reinforced by 14,000 fresh troops from Sweden and Livonia, Banner opened, with the most favourable prospects, the campaign of 1638. The Imperialists who were in possession of Upper Pomerania and Mecklenburg, in a great measure abandoned their positions, or surrendered in crowds to the Swedes, to escape the miseries of famine, the worst of enemies in an exhausted country. The whole country betwixt the Elbe and the Oder was so desolated by the past marchings and quarterings of the troops, that Banner, to enable him to penetrate into Saxony and Bohemia, and to support his army on its march, was obliged to take a circuitous route from Lower Pomerania into Lower Saxony, and then into the Electorate of Saxony through the territory of Halberstadt. The impatience of the Lower Saxon States to be freed from such guests, procured him so plentiful a supply of provisions, that he was provided with bread in Magdeburg itself—a place where famine had even overcome the natural antipathy of men to human flesh. He threw Saxony into consternation by his approach ; but his views were directed not against this exhausted country, but against the Imperial hereditary dominions. The victories of Bernard encouraged him, while his desire of plunder was excited by the prosperity of the Austrian provinces. After defeating the Imperial General Salis at Elsterburg, totally routing the Saxon army at Chemnitz, and taking Pirna, he penetrated with irresistible impetuosity into Bohemia, crossed the Elbe, threatened Prague, took Brandeis and Leut-

meritz, defeated General Hofkirchen with ten regiments, and spread terror and devastation through that defenceless kingdom. Booty was his sole object, and whatever could not be carried off was destroyed. In order to carry off the more corn, the ears were cut from the stalks, and these burned. More than a thousand castles, hamlets and villages, were laid in ashes; sometimes more than a hundred were destroyed in a single night. From Bohemia he crossed into Silesia, and even Moravia and Austria were destined to feel the effect of his ravages. But to prevent this, Count Hatzfeld from Westphalia, and Piccolomini from the Netherlands, were obliged to hasten into this quarter. The Archduke Leopold, a brother of the Emperor, took the command to repair the errors of his predecessor Gallas, and to raise the army from the low ebb to which it had fallen.

The commencement justified the change, and the campaign of 1640 appeared to have taken a most unfortunate turn for the Swedes. They were driven out of one quarter after another into Bohemia, and anxious only to secure their plunder, they precipitately crossed the heights of Meissen. But being followed into Saxony by the pursuing enemy, and defeated at Plauen, they were obliged to take refuge in Thuringia. Having by a single campaign acquired the preponderance in the field, they again lost their advantage as rapidly; but only to acquire it a second time, and to pass from the extremity of defeat, to the summit of success. The weakened army of Banner on the brink of destruction in its camp at Erfurt, suddenly recovered itself. The Duke of Lunenburg abandoned the treaty of Prague, and brought to the assistance of

Banner the very troops which, the year before, had fought against him. Hesse Cassel sent reinforcements, and the Duke of Longueville, with the army of the late Duke Bernard, joined him. Once more superior in numbers to the Imperialists, Banner again offered them battle near Saalfeld; but their leader Piccolomini prudently avoided a contest, and had chosen a position too strong to be forced. When the Bavarians at length separated from the Imperialists, and marched towards Franconia, Banner attempted an attack upon this divided corps, but the attempt was frustrated by the skill of the Bavarian General Von Merrig, and the near approach of the main army of the Imperialists. Both armies now moved into the exhausted territory of Hesse, where they formed intrenched camps near each other, till at last famine and the severity of the winter drove them from this desolated province. Piccolomini chose the fertile banks of the Weser for his winter-quarters; but being outflanked by Banner, he was obliged to give way to the Swedes, and to impose on the Bishopric of Franconia the burden of maintaining his army.

At this period a diet was held in Ratisbon, where the complaints of the States were to be heard, measures taken for the repose of the empire, and the question as to peace or war finally decided. The presence of the Emperor, the majority of the Catholic voices in the Electoral College, and the defection of several of the Protestant votes, gave the Emperor a complete command of the deliberations of the assembly, and rendered this diet any thing but a representation of the opinions of the German empire. The Protestants, with reason, considered it as a mere combination

of Austria and its creatures against their party ; and it seemed to them a laudable effort to interrupt its deliberations, and to dissolve the diet itself.

Banner undertook this bold enterprise. His military reputation had suffered by his last retreat from Bohemia, and some great exploit was necessary to restore it to its former lustre. Without confiding his plan to any one, he, in the very depth of the winter of 1641, left his quarters in Lunenburg as soon as the roads and rivers were frozen. Accompanied by Marshal Guebriant, who commanded the armies of France and Weimar, he directed his march towards the Danube, through Thuringia and Vogtland, and appeared before Ratisbon ere the Diet were aware of his approach. The consternation of the assembled states was indescribable ; and in their first alarm, the whole of the ambassadors prepared for flight. The Emperor alone declared, that he would not leave the town, and encouraged the rest by his example. Unfortunately for the Swedes a thaw came on, which broke up the ice upon the Danube, and rendered the river impassable, either on foot or by boats, on account of the quantities of ice which were swept down by the current. In order to humble the pride of the Emperor, Banner rudely fired 500 cannon-shots into the town, which, however, did little mischief. Baffled in this attempt, he now resolved to penetrate farther into Bohemia, and the defenceless province of Moravia, where a rich booty and comfortable quarters awaited his troops. Guebriant, however, began to fear that the purpose of the Swedes

was to draw the Weimar army farther and farther from the Rhine, and to cut off its connexion with France, till it should be placed entirely at their disposal, or incapacitated from doing any thing of itself. He, therefore, separated from Banner to return to the Maine; and the latter saw himself exposed to the whole Imperial army, which had been silently collected between Ratisbon and Ingolstadt, and was on its march against him. It was now time to think of a rapid retreat, which, having to be effected in the face of an army superior in cavalry, and betwixt woods and rivers, through a country entirely hostile, appeared almost impracticable. He hastily retired towards the forest, intending to penetrate through Bohemia into Saxony; but he was obliged to leave behind him three regiments at Neuburg. These, with a truly Spartan courage, defended themselves for four days behind the shelter of an old wall, and gained time for Banner to escape. He retreated by Egra to Annaberg; Piccolomini pursued him by a nearer route, by Schlackenwald: and Banner succeeded only by a single half hour in clearing the Pass of Primsnitz, and saving his whole army from the Imperialists. At Zwickau he was again joined by Guebriant; and both generals directed their march towards Halberstadt, after in vain attempting to defend the Saal, and to prevent the passage of the Imperialists.

Banner, at length, terminated his career at Halberstadt, in May 1641, a victim to vexation and disappointment. He maintained with distinguished reputation, though with various success, the character of the Swedish arms in Germany, and,



by a series of victorious actions, showed himself worthy of his great instructor. He was fertile in expedients, which he planned with the greatest secrecy, and executed with boldness ; cautious in the midst of dangers, greater in adversity than in good fortune, and never more formidable than when upon the brink of destruction. But the virtues of the hero were united with all the feelings and vices which are created or fostered by a military life. As imperious in private life as he was at the head of his army, with all the rudeness of his profession and all the pride of a conqueror ; he disgusted the German princes no less by his haughtiness, than he exhausted their country by the contributions which he levied. After the toils of war, he indulged in the pleasures of the table, till he atoned for these excesses by a premature death. But devoted as he was to pleasure, like Alexander or Mahomet the Second, he hurried from its arms into the severest toils of war, and placed himself in all his vigour at the head of his army, while his soldiers were murmuring at his luxurious excesses. Nearly 80,000 men fell in the numerous battles which he fought, and about 600 hostile standards and colours, which he sent to Stockholm, were the trophies of his victories. The loss of this great general was soon severely felt by the Swedes, who feared, with justice, that his loss would not easily be supplied. The spirit of rebellion and insubordination which had been overawed by the imperious demeanour of this formidable general, awoke upon his death. The officers, with an alarming unanimity, demanded their arrears, and none of the four generals who shared the command after Banner's death possessed in-

fluence enough to satisfy these demands, or to silence the malcontents. Military discipline was at an end, increasing want, and the Imperial citations were daily diminishing the number of the army, the troops of France and Weimar showed little zeal, those of Lunenburg abandoned the Swedish standards, as the Princes of the House of Brunswick, after the death of Duke George, had entered into a treaty with the Emperor, and at last even those of Hesse quitted them, to seek better quarters in Westphalia. The enemy profited by these destructive divisions; and although defeated in two battles, succeeded in making a considerable progress in Lower Saxony.

At length appeared the new Swedish generalissimo with fresh troops and money. This was Bernard Torstensohn, a pupil of Gustavus Adolphus, and his most successful imitator, who had been his page during the Polish war. Though a martyr to the gout, he surpassed all his opponents in activity; and his enterprises seemed to move with wings, while his body was fettered by disease. Under him the scene of war was changed, and new maxims adopted, which were dictated by necessity, and justified by the event. All the territories were exhausted in which the contest had hitherto raged; while the House of Austria, safe in its more distant territories, felt not the miseries of the war under which the rest of Germany groaned. It was Torstensohn who first taught them that bitter experience, who glutted his Swedes with the fertile produce of Austria, and hurled the torch of war even to the very footsteps of the Imperial throne.

— In Silesia, the enemy had gained considerable

advantages over the Swedish general Stalhantsch, and driven him as far as Neumark. Torstensohn, who had joined the main army of the Swedes in Lunenburg, ordered him to join him, and in the year 1642, penetrated hastily through Brandenburg, which, under the great Elector, had begun to maintain an armed neutrality, into Silesia. Glogau was taken, sword in hand, without a breach, and without any formal approach, the Duke Francis Albert of Lauenburg, defeated and killed at Schweidnitz; and Schweidnitz itself, with almost all the towns on that side the Oder, taken. He now penetrated with irresistible force into the interior of Moravia, where no enemy of Austria had hitherto appeared, took Olmutz, and threw Vienna itself into consternation.

But, in the mean time, Piccolomini and the Archduke Leopold had collected a superior force, which speedily drove the Swedish conquerors from Moravia, and after a fruitless attempt upon Brieg, from Silesia. Reinforced by Wrangel, they again attempted to make head against the enemy, and relieved Grossglogau; but could neither bring the enemy to a battle, nor carry into effect their own views upon Bohemia. They now overran Lusatia, where they took Zittau in sight of the enemy, and, after a short stay in that country, directed their march towards the Elbe, which they passed at Torgau. Torstensohn now threatened Leipsic with a siege, and hoped to raise a large supply of provisions and contributions from that prosperous town.

The Imperialists, under Leopold and Piccolomini, immediately hastened by Dresden to its re-

lief, and Torstensohn, to avoid being enclosed between this army and the town, boldly advanced to meet them in order of battle. By a strange coincidence of circumstances, they met precisely upon the spot which Gustavus Adolphus had rendered remarkable by a decisive victory eleven years before ; and the heroism of their predecessors, now excited the Swedes to emulate their example on this consecrated ground. The Swedish generals, Stahlhantsch and Wellenberg, threw themselves with such impetuosity upon the left wing of the Imperialists, which was not yet completely formed, that the whole cavalry that covered it were routed and rendered useless. But the left of the Swedes was threatened with a similar fate, when the victorious right advanced to its assistance, took the enemy in flank and rear, and divided the Austrian line. The infantry on both sides stood firm as a wall, maintaining the combat after their ammunition was exhausted, with the butt-ends of their muskets, till at last the Imperialists, surrounded upon all sides, were compelled, after a contest of three hours, to abandon the field. The Generals on both sides did every thing in their power to rally their fugitives ; and the Archduke Leopold with his regiment was the first in the attack, and last in flight. But this bloody victory cost the Swedes more than 3000 men, and two of their best generals, Schlangen and Lilienhoeck. More than 5000 of the Imperialists were left upon the field, and nearly as many taken prisoners. Their whole artillery, consisting of 46 cannon, the silver plate and archives of the Archduke, with the whole baggage of the army, fell into the hands of the conquerors. Torstensohn, too much weaken-

ed by his victory to pursue the enemy, moved upon Leipzig. The defeated army retired into Bohemia, where its flying regiments reassembled. The Archduke Leopold could not recover from the vexation produced by this defeat; and the regiment of cavalry which, by its premature flight, had occasioned the disaster, experienced the effects of his indignation. At Raconitz in Bohemia, in presence of the rest of the army, he publicly declared it infamous, deprived it of its horses, arms, and insignia, ordered its standards to be torn, condemned several of the officers to death, and decimated the private men.

Leipzig, which surrendered three weeks after the battle, was the brilliant result of this victory. The city was obliged to clothe the Swedish troops anew, and was obliged to purchase an exemption from plunder, by a contribution of 300,000 rix-dollars, to which the foreign merchants, who had warehouses in the city, were obliged to contribute. Torstensohn advanced in the middle of winter against Freyberg, and bade defiance to the inclemency of the season for several weeks before the town, hoping by his perseverance to vanquish the obstinacy of the besieged. But he found that he was merely sacrificing his troops; and the approach of the Imperial General Piccolomini compelled him, with his weakened army, to retire. He considered it as an advantage, however, that he had succeeded in disturbing the repose of the enemy in their winter quarters, who, by the inclemency of the season, had thus sustained a loss of 3000 horses. He now made a movement towards the Oder, as if with the view of reinforcing himself at the garrisons in Pomerania and Silesia;

but, with the rapidity of lightning, he again appeared upon the Bohemian frontier, penetrated through that kingdom, and relieved Olmutz in Moravia, which was hard pressed by the Imperialists. From his camp at Doditschau, two miles from Olmutz, he commanded the whole of Moravia, levied the severest contributions, and extended his ravages almost to the gates of Vienna. In vain did the Emperor attempt to arm the Hungarian nobility in defence of this province; they appealed to their privileges, and refused to serve beyond the limits of their own country. Thus, the time that should have been spent in active resistance, was lost in fruitless negotiation, till the entire province fell into the hands of the Swedes.

While Bernard Torstensohn, by his marches and his victories, astonished friend and foe, the armies of the allies had not been inactive in other quarters of the empire. The troops of Hesse and Weimar, under Count Eberstein and the Marechal de Guebriant, had fallen into the Electorate of Cologne, in order to take up their winter quarters there. In order to rid himself of these troublesome guests, the Elector summoned to his assistance the Imperial General Hatsfeldt, and assembled his own troops under General Lamboy. The latter was attacked by the allies in January 1642, and defeated in a decisive action near Kempen, with the loss of about 2000 men killed, and about twice that number taken prisoners. This important victory opened to them the whole Electorate and neighbouring territories, so that the allies were not only enabled to maintain their winter quarters there, but to derive from the country large supplies of men and horses.

Guebriant left to the Hessians the task of defending their possessions on the Lower Rhine against Hatzfeldt, and advanced towards Thuringia, as if to second the operations of Torstensohn in Saxony. But instead of joining the Swedes, he soon hurried back to the Rhine and the Maine, from which he seemed to think that he was already too far removed. But being anticipated in the Landgraviate of Baden by the Bavarians under Mercy and John De Werth, he was obliged to wander about for several weeks, exposed, without shelter, to the inclemency of the winter, and generally encamping upon the snow, till he found a miserable refuge in Breisgau. He appeared indeed in the field the next summer, and kept the Bavarian army employed in Suabia, so as to prevent it from relieving Thionville, which was then besieged by Condé. But he was soon after driven back to Alsace by the superiority of the enemy, where he remained awaiting a reinforcement.

The death of Cardinal Richelieu took place in November 1642, and the subsequent change in the succession, and in the ministry, occasioned by the death of Louis XIII., had for some time withdrawn the attention of France from the German war, and had been the cause of this inactivity in the field. But Mazarine, the inheritor of Richelieu's power, his principles, and his projects, followed out with renewed zeal the plans of his predecessor, though the French subject was thus destined to pay dearly for the political greatness of France. The main strength of its armies, which Richelieu had employed against the Spaniards, was directed by Mazarine against the Emperor; and the anxiety with which he carried on the



war in Germany, proved the sincerity of the opinion which he expressed, that the German army was the right arm of his King, and a wall of safety around France. Immediately after the taking of Thionville, he despatched a considerable reinforcement to Field-Marshal Guebriant in Alsace; and to induce the troops more willingly to bear the fatigues of the German war, the celebrated victor of Rocroi, the Duke of Enguien, afterwards Prince of Condé, was placed in person at their head. Guebriant now felt himself strong enough to appear again in Germany with reputation. He hastened across the Rhine with the view of procuring better winter-quarters in Suabia, and actually made himself master of Rothweil, where a Bavarian magazine fell into his hands. But the place was too dearly purchased, and was again lost with even greater rapidity than it had been acquired. Guebriant received a wound in the arm, which was rendered mortal by the unskilfulness of his surgeon, and the extent of his loss became evident from the very day of his death.

The French army, visibly diminished in numbers by an expedition at this severe season of the year, had, after the taking of Rothweil, withdrawn into the neighbourhood of Duttlingen, where they lay in complete security, without any expectation of a hostile attack. In the meantime the enemy collected a considerable force to prevent the French from establishing themselves beyond the Rhine, and so near to Bavaria, as to protect that quarter from their ravages. The Imperialists under Hatzfeldt formed a junction with the Bavarians under Mercy; and the Duke of Lorraine, who, during the whole course of the war is generally

found every where except in his own dutchy, joined their united forces. It was resolved to beat up the quarters of the French in Duttlingen and the neighbouring villages; a favourite species of expedition in this war, which, as it was always necessarily accompanied with confusion, generally cost more bloodshed than a pitched battle. They felt themselves the more at home, as the French soldiers, unaccustomed to such enterprises, conceived themselves protected by the severity of the winter against any surprise. John De Werth, who was esteemed a master in this species of warfare, which he had been accustomed to put in practice against Gustavus Horn, conducted the enterprise, and, contrary to all expectation, was successful.

The attack was made on a side where it was least expected, on account of the woods and narrow passes, and a heavy snow which fell upon the same day, (the 24th November 1643,) concealed the approach of the vanguard till it halted in front of Duttlingen. The whole artillery without the place, as well as the neighbouring Castle of Homburg, were taken without resistance, Duttlingein gradually surrounded by the army, and all connection with the hostile quarters in the neighbouring villages silently and suddenly cut off. The French were vanquished without firing a cannon. The cavalry owed their escape to the swiftness of their horses, and the few minutes in advance, which they had gained upon their pursuers. The infantry were cut to pieces, or voluntarily laid down their arms. About 2000 men were killed, and 7000, with 25 staff-officers and 90 captains, taken prisoners. This was, perhaps, the only battle, in the whole course of the war,

which made nearly the same impression upon the party which gained and that which lost by it;—both were Germans, and it was the French who had disgraced themselves. The memory of this unfortunate day, which was renewed 100 years after at Rosbach, was indeed subsequently effaced by the heroism of a Turenne and Condé; but the Germans might be permitted to indemnify themselves for the miseries which had been heaped upon them by the policy of France, by these severe reflections upon her intrepidity.

Meantime this defeat of the French was likely to prove destructive to Sweden, as the whole power of the Emperor might now be directed against them, while [the number of their enemies was at this time increased by a formidable accession. Torstensohn had, in September 1643, suddenly left Moravia, and moved into Silesia. No one knew the cause of this step, and the frequent changes which took place in the direction of his march, contributed to increase this perplexity. From Silesia, after numberless circuits, he advanced towards the Elbe, while the Imperialists followed him into Lusatia. At Torgau he threw a bridge across the Elbe, and gave out that he intended to penetrate through Meissen into the Upper Palatinate in Bavaria; at Barby, he also made a movement as if to pass that river, but continued to move down the Elbe as far as Havelberg, where he astonished his troops by informing them that it was his intention to lead them against the Danes in Holstein.

The spirit of partiality which Christian IV. had displayed against the Swedes in his capacity of mediator, the jealousy with which he laboured to

hinder the progress of their arms, the obstacles which he threw in the way of the Swedish navigation in the Sound, and the burdens which he imposed upon their commerce, had long excited the indignation of this crown; and at last, when these grievances continued daily to increase, had determined them to revenge. Dangerous as it seemed to involve themselves in a new war, while Sweden, even amidst all her conquests, was almost exhausted by the old, their desire of revenge, and the deep-rooted hatred which subsisted between Denmark and Sweden, prevailed over all these considerations; and even the embarrassment in which they were placed by the war in Germany, acted as an additional inducement to try their fortune against Denmark.

Matters had in fact come to that extremity, that the war was continued merely for the purpose of furnishing food and employment to the troops, that the advantage of winter-quarters formed the chief subject of contention; and that success, in this particular, was more valued than a decisive victory. But now almost all the provinces of the German empire were exhausted and laid waste. Provisions, horses and men, were wanting; and of all these, a profusion was to be found in Holstein. If they should merely succeed in recruiting their army in that province, providing subsistence for the horses and soldiers, and remounting the cavalry, the danger and difficulty of the attempt would be well repaid. It was, besides, of the highest importance, now that the negotiations for peace were commencing, to diminish the injurious influence of Denmark upon these delibera-

tions, to delay the pacification itself, which seemed to be unfavourable to the Swedish crown, by sowing confusion among the parties interested, and, in reference to the question of indemnification, to increase as much as possible the number of her conquests, in order the more securely to preserve those alone which she was anxious to retain. The state of the Danish kingdom at this time justified even greater hopes, could the attempt only be executed with rapidity and silence. The secret was in fact so well kept in Stockholm, that the Danish minister had not the slightest suspicion of it; and neither France nor Holland were admitted into the secret. Hostilities commenced without any previous declaration of war; and Torstensohn was in Holstein before any attack was expected. The Swedish troops, meeting with no resistance, poured like an inundation through this dutchy, and made themselves master of every strong place, with the exception of Rensburg and Gluckstadt. Another army penetrated into Schonen, which made scarcely any greater resistance; and nothing but the severity of the weather prevented their leader from passing the Lesser Baltic, and carrying the war into Fulmen and Zealand. The Danish fleet was unsuccessful at Femern; and Christian himself, who was on board, lost his right eye by a splinter. Cut off from all communication with the distant force of the Emperor his ally, this King was on the point of seeing his whole kingdom overrun by the Swedes; and the old prophecy of the celebrated Tycho Brahe appeared likely to be fulfilled, that in the year 1644, Christian IV. should wander in the greatest misery from his dominions.

But the Emperor could not with indifference behold Denmark sacrificed to Sweden, and the latter enriched by the spoils of the former kingdom. Though great difficulties lay in the way of so long a march through desolated provinces, he did not hesitate to despatch Count Gallas, who, after Piccolomini's retirement, had resumed the supreme command of the troops, with an army into Holstein. Gallas actually appeared in this duchy, took Keil, and hoped, by a junction with the Danes, to shut up the Swedish army in Jutland. Meantime the Hessians and the Swedish General Koenigsmark were kept in check by Hatzfeldt and the Archbishop of Bremen, the son of Christian IV.; and the latter drawn into Saxony by an attack upon Meissen. But Torstensohn, with his newly augmented army, penetrated through the unoccupied pass betwixt Schleswig and Stapelholm, met Gallas, and drove him along the whole course of the Elbe as far as Bernburg, where the Imperialists formed a fortified camp. Torstensohn passed the Saal, and took up a position in the rear of the enemy, so as to cut off their communication with Saxony and Bohemia. Famine then found its way into their camp, and destroyed the greater part of the army; nor was their wretched situation much bettered by their retreat to Magdeburg. The cavalry, which attempted to escape into Silesia, was overtaken and routed by Torstensohn near Juterbock; the rest of the army, after an ineffectual attempt to force its way sword in hand, was almost totally destroyed near Magdeburg. Of all his formidable force, Gallas brought back only a few thousand men, and the reputation of being a consummate master

in the art of ruining an army. After this unsuccessful attempt to relieve him, the King of Denmark sued for peace, which he obtained at Bremsebor in the year 1645, but under the most unfavourable conditions.

Torstensohn followed up his victory; and, while Axel Lilienstern, one of the generals who commanded under him, overawed Saxony, and Koenigsmark subdued the whole of Bremen, he himself penetrated into Bohemia with 16,000 men and 80 cannon, and endeavoured a second time to remove the war into the hereditary dominions of Austria. Ferdinand, upon this intelligence, hastened to Prague in person, in order to animate the courage of the people by his presence; and as a skilful general was so much wanted, and so little unanimity prevailed among the numerous leaders, he hoped to be able to act with more energy and activity in the immediate neighbourhood of the theatre of war. By his directions, Hatzfeldt assembled the whole Austrian and Bavarian force, and, contrary to his own inclination and advice, formed the Emperor's last army, and the last bulwark of his states, in order of battle before the approaching enemy at Jankowitz, on the 24th of February 1645. Ferdinand depended upon his cavalry, which was more numerous by 3000 than that of the enemy, and upon the promise of the Virgin Mary, who had appeared to him in a dream, and given him assurance of a complete victory.

Torstensohn, who was not accustomed to number his antagonists, was not intimidated by the superiority of the Imperialists. Even on the very first attack the left wing, which Goetz, the General



of the League, had entangled in a very disadvantageous position among marshes and thickets, was thrown into complete disorder, the General, with the greater part of his men, killed, and nearly the whole ammunition of the army taken. This unfortunate commencement decided the fate of the day. The Swedes, constantly pressing forward, made themselves masters of the important eminences. After a bloody contest of eight hours, a desperate attack on the part of the Imperial cavalry, and a vigorous resistance by the infantry, they remained in possession of the field. 2000 Austrians were killed upon the spot, and Hatzfeldt himself, with 3000 men, taken prisoners. Thus, on the same day, did the Emperor lose his best general and his last army.

This decisive victory at Jancowitz, at once threw open to the enemy all the territory of Austria. Ferdinand hastily fled to Vienna, to provide for the defence of that capital, and to save himself, his family, and his treasures. The victorious Swedes soon poured, like an inundation, into Moravia and Austria. After they had subdued nearly the whole of Moravia, invested Brunn, taken possession of almost all the strong places and towns upon the Danube, and carried the intrenchments at the Wolf's-Bridge, near Vienna; they at last appeared in sight of that capital, and the care which they took to fortify their conquests showed that their visit was likely to be one of some length. After a long and destructive circuit through every province of Germany, the stream of war had at last rolled backwards to its source, and the roar of the Swedish artillery now reminded the terrified

inhabitants of those balls which the Bohemian rebels had, twenty-seven years ago, fired into Vienna. Similar actors too re-appeared upon the same theatre of war. Torstensohn invited Ragotsky, the successor of Bethlem Gabor, to his assistance, as the Bohemian rebels had solicited that of his predecessor; Upper Hungary was already inundated by his troops, and his union with the Swedes was daily apprehended. John George of Saxony, driven to despair by the Swedes taking up their quarters within his territories, now adopted the last and only expedient which remained to him, that of concluding a truce with Sweden, which was to be renewed from year to year till a general peace. The Emperor thus lost a friend, while a new enemy was making his appearance upon his frontier, and his confederates in other quarters of Germany were defeated. The French army had effaced the disgrace of the defeat at Deutlingen by a brilliant campaign, and had given employment to the whole force of Bavaria upon the Rhine and in Suabia. Reinforced with fresh troops from France, which the great Turenne, already distinguished by his victories in Italy, brought to the assistance of the Duke of Enguien; they appeared on the 4th of August 1644, before Friburg, which had been lately taken by Mercy, and which was now covered by him with his whole army strongly intrenched. But all the impetuous valour of the French was exerted in vain against the firmness of the Bavarians, and the Duke of Enguien was compelled to retreat after a fruitless sacrifice of 6000 men. Mazarine shed tears over this great loss, which Condé, who had no feeling for any thing but glory, disregarded. "A single night

in Paris," said he, "gives birth to more men than this action has destroyed." The Bavarians, however, were so much exhausted by this murderous battle, that, far from being in a condition to relieve Austria, they were not even able to defend the banks of the Rhine. Spires, Worms and Manheim, surrendered; the strong fortress of Philipsburg was taken by famine; and Mentz itself hastened, by a timely submission, to disarm the conquerors.

Austria and Moravia, however, were now freed from Torstensohn, as they had formerly been from the Bohemians. Ragotzky, at the head of 25,000 men, had penetrated into the neighbourhood of the Swedish camp upon the Danube. But these rude and undisciplined bands merely laid waste the country, and increased the distress which was already felt in the Swedish camp, instead of seconding the operations of Torstensohn by any vigorous enterprise. To extort tribute from the Emperor, and money and effects from his subjects, was the object which called Ragotzky, like his predecessor Bethlem Gabor, into the field; and both departed as soon as their object was attained. Ferdinand, in order to get quit of him, granted the barbarian whatever he asked, and, by a small sacrifice, freed his states of this formidable enemy.

In the meantime, the main force of the Swedes had been greatly weakened by a tedious encampment before Brunn. Torstensohn, who commanded in person, exhausted for four entire months his whole knowledge of military tactics in vain; the obstinacy of the resistance was equal to that of the attack; while the courage of the commandant, a Swedish deserter, who had no pardon to hope for,

was excited by despair. The ravages caused by pestilential disorders, arising from famine, want of cleanliness, and the use of unripe fruit during their tedious encampment, with the sudden retreat of the Prince of Transylvania, at last compelled the Swedish leader to raise the siege. As all the passes upon the Danube were occupied, and his army greatly weakened by famine and sickness, he at last abandoned his enterprise against Austria and Moravia, and contented himself with securing a key to these provinces, by leaving behind him Swedish garrisons in the conquered fortresses. He then directed his march into Bohemia, whither he was followed by the Imperialists under the Archduke Leopold. Such places as had not been taken by the latter, were recovered, after his departure, by the Austrian General Bucheim; so that, in the course of the following year, the Austrian frontier was again cleared of the enemy, and Vienna escaped with the alarm which it had undergone. In Bohemia and Silesia too, the fortunes of the Swedes were very variable; they traversed both countries without being able to maintain themselves in either. But if the designs of Torstensohn were not accompanied with all the success which they were at first promised, they were at least productive of the most important consequences to the Swedish party. Denmark had been compelled to a peace, Saxony to a truce. The Emperor had been rendered more accommodating in the deliberations for a peace, and Sweden itself, bolder and more confident in its bearing towards these crowns. Having thus nobly performed his duty, the author of these advantages retired, adorned with laurels, in-

to the tranquillity of private life, and endeavoured, by retirement, to regain his health.

By the retreat of Torstensohn, the Emperor was relieved from an irruption on the side of Bohemia. But a new danger soon threatened the Austrian frontier from Swabia and Bavaria. Turenne who had separated from Condé, and gone into Swabia, had, in the year 1645, been totally defeated by Mercy near Mergentheim ; and the victorious Bavarians, under their brave leader, poured into Hesse. But the Duke of Enguien, immediately hastened with considerable succours from Alsace to Koenigsmark from Moravia, and the Hessians from the Rhine, to recruit the defeated army, and the Bavarians were once more driven back to the extremity of Suabia. They at last posted themselves at the village of Allershein, near Nordlingen, in order to cover the Bavarian frontier. But the impetuosity of the Duke of Enguien was intimidated by no obstacle. He led forward his troops against the hostile batteries, and a battle took place, which the heroic resistance of the Bavarians rendered most obstinate and bloody : till at last the death of the great Mercy, the skill of Turenne, and the iron firmness of the Hessians, decided the day in favour of the allies. But even this second barbarous sacrifice of life had little influence on the course of the war, or the negotiations for peace. The French army, exhausted by this bloody contest, was still farther weakened by the departure of the Hessians, and the Bavarians being reinforced by the Archduke Leopold, Turenne was again obliged hastily to recross the Rhine.

The retreat of the French enabled the enemy to

turn their whole force against the Swedes in Bohemia. Gustavus Wrangel, no unworthy successor of Banner and Torstensohn, had, in the year 1646, obtained the supreme command of the Swedish army, which, besides the flying corps of Koenigsmark, and the numerous garrisons dispersed throughout the empire, amounted to about 8000 horse, and 15,000 foot. The Archduke, after reinforcing his army, which amounted to 24,000 men, with twelve Bavarian regiments of cavalry, and eighteen regiments of infantry, moved against Wrangel, in hopes of being able to overwhelm him by his superiority, before Koenigsmark could join him, or the French effect a diversion in his favour. Wrangel, however, did not await his arrival, but hurried through Upper Saxony to the Weser, where he took Hoester and Paderborn. From thence he moved into Hesse, in order to form a junction with Turenne, and, at his camp at Weimar, was joined by the flying corps of Koenigsmark. But Turenne, restrained by the orders of Mazarine, who had beheld with jealousy the warlike prowess and increasing pride of the Swedes, excused himself on account of the pressing necessity of defending the frontier of France on the side of the Netherlands, as the Flemings had this year failed to make the diversion which they promised. But as Wrangel continued to press his demand with vigour, and a longer opposition might have excited the suspicions of the Swedes, or induce them to conclude a private treaty with Austria, Turenne at last obtained the wished for permission to join the Swedish army.

The junction took place at Giessen, and they now felt themselves strong enough to make head



against the enemy. The latter had followed the Swedes into Hesse, in order to cut off their provisions, and to prevent their union with Turenne. In both these attempts they had been unsuccessful ; and the Imperialists now saw themselves cut off from the Maine, and exposed to the greatest want from the loss of their magazines. Wrangel availed himself of their weakness to execute an enterprise, by which he hoped to give a new direction to the war. He, too, had adopted the maxim of his predecessor, to carry the war into the Austrian States. But dismayed by the unfortunate issue of Torstensohn's enterprise, he hoped to gain his end with more certainty and effect by another way. He resolved to follow the course of the Danube, and to penetrate into the Austrian territories through the midst of Bavaria. A similar plan had been purposed by Gustavus Adolphus, which he had been unable to execute, from the approach of Wallenstein's army, and the danger of Saxony. Duke Bernard moving in his footsteps, and more fortunate than Gustavus Adolphus, had spread his victorious banners between the Iser and the Inn ; but he too was arrested in his course, and was compelled to retire before an enemy superior in number. Wrangel now hoped to accomplish the object in which his predecessors had failed, the more so as the Imperial and Bavarian army was far in his rear upon the Lahn, and could only reach Bavaria by a long march through Franconia and the Upper Palatinate. He moved hastily upon the Danube, defeated a Bavarian corps near Donauwerth, and passed that river as well as the Lech without resistance. But by the unsuccessful siege of Augsburg he gave the



Imperialists time, not only to relieve that city, but also to repulse him as far as Lauingen. No sooner, however, had they turned towards Swabia, in order to remove the war from the Bavarian frontier, than he seized the opportunity, repassed the Lech, and maintained the passage against the Imperialists themselves. Bavaria now lay open and defenceless before him ; the French and Swedes poured into it like a torrent, and the soldier indemnified himself for the dangers he had undergone, by the most frightful outrages, robberies, and extortions. The arrival of the Imperial troops, who at last succeeded in passing the Lech at Thierhaupten, only increased the misery of this country, which was plundered without distinction by friend and foe.

And now, for the first time during the whole course of this war, the courage of Maximilian, which had stood unshaken amidst the calamities of eight-and-twenty years, began to waver. Ferdinand II., his 'school-companion at Ingolstadt, and the friend of his youth, was no more ; and with the death of this friend and benefactor, were dissolved the strongest ties which had linked the Elector to the House of Austria. To the father he had been attached by habit, by inclination, and by gratitude ; the son was a stranger to his heart, and with him he was connected by no other ties than those of state policy.

These accordingly were the motives which the artifices of France now put in operation, in order to detach him from the Austrian alliance, and to induce him to lay down his arms. It was not without important reasons, that Mazarine had so far concealed his jealousy of the increasing power

of Sweden, as to allow the French to accompany the Swedes into Bavaria. His intention was, that Bavaria should be exposed to all the horrors of war, in order that the stubbornness of Maximilian might be subdued by necessity and despair, and the Emperor deprived of his first and last ally. Brandenburg had, under its great sovereign, embraced the neutrality; Saxony had been compelled to do so from necessity; the war in France prevented the Spaniards from taking any part in that of Germany; Denmark had withdrawn from the theatre of war after the peace with Sweden; and Poland had been disarmed by a long truce. If they could succeed in detaching the Elector of Bavaria also from the Austrian alliance, the Emperor would be left, without a friend in Germany, at the mercy of the allied powers.

Ferdinand III. perceived the danger in which he stood, and left no means untried to avert it. But the Elector of Bavaria had been persuaded that the Spaniards alone were disinclined to peace, and that Spanish influence alone induced the Emperor to resist a cessation of hostilities. Maximilian hated the Spaniards, and had never forgiven their opposition to his claims on the Palatine Electorate. Could it then be supposed that, in order to gratify this hostile power, he should see his people sacrificed, his country laid waste, and his own fortunes ruined, when, by a cessation of hostilities, he might relieve himself from all these distresses, procure for his people the repose of which they stood so much in need, and perhaps accelerate the arrival of a general peace? All doubts disappeared; and, convinced of the necessity of

this step, he thought he sufficiently fulfilled his duty to the Emperor, if he procured for him also the benefit of the truce. The deputies of the three Crowns and of Bavaria met at Ulm to adjust the conditions of the cessation of hostilities. But it was soon evident, from the instructions of the Austrian ambassador, that it was not the intention of the Emperor to further this object, but if possible to prevent it. It was obviously necessary to render the truce acceptable to the Swedes, who had the advantage, and had more to hope than to fear from the continuation of the war, instead of endeavouring to render it obnoxious to them by harsh conditions. They were the conquerors; and yet the Emperor ventured to dictate to them. In the first transports of their indignation, the Swedish ambassadors were on the point of leaving the Congress, and the French were the first to have recourse to threats in order to detain them.

The Elector of Bavaria having thus failed in his good intentions to include the Emperor in the benefit of the truce, now thought himself justified in attending to his own interests. Though the truce was to be dearly purchased, he did not hesitate to accede to the conditions. He agreed to allow the Swedes to extend their quarters in Swabia and Franconia, and to confine his own to Bavaria and the Palatinate. The conquests which he had made in Swabia were ceded to the allies, who, on their part, restored to him what they had taken from Bavaria. Cologne and Hesse Cassel were also included in the truce. After the conclusion of this treaty, upon the 14th March 1647, the French and Swedes left Bavaria, and, in order not

to interfere with each other, took up different quarters, the former in the Dutchy of Wurtemberg, the latter in Upper Swabia, in the neighbourhood of the Lake of Bode. On the extreme north of this Lake, and on the most southern frontier of Swabia, the Austrian town of Bregentz, by its steep and narrow passes, seemed to bid defiance to every attack; and accordingly, the whole surrounding peasantry had taken refuge with their property in this natural fortress. The rich booty which the store of provisions it contained gave reason to expect, and the advantage of possessing a pass into the Tyrol, Switzerland, and Italy, induced the Swedish general to venture an attack upon this supposed impregnable pass and town. Meantime Turenne, according to agreement, had marched into Wurtemberg, where he compelled the Landgrave of Darmstadt and the Elector of Mentz to imitate the example of Bavaria, and to embrace the neutrality.

And now, at last, the great object of the policy of France seemed to be attained, that of exposing the Emperor, deprived of the support of the League, and of his Protestant allies, to the united force of two crowns, and of dictating to him, sword in hand, the conditions of peace. An army, not exceeding 12,000, was all that remained to him of his formidable power; and this force, he was under the necessity of intrusting to the command of a Calvinist, the Hessian deserter Melander, the war having deprived him of all his best generals. But as this war had been remarkable for the sudden changes of fortune it displayed; and as every calculation of state policy had been frequently baffled by some

sudden occurrence, the issue in this case disappointed expectation ; and the fallen power of Austria, after a brief crisis, again attained a formidable superiority. The jealousy which France entertained towards Sweden, prevented it from permitting the total ruin of the Emperor, or allowing the Swedes to obtain a preponderance in Germany, which might have been destructive to France herself. Accordingly, the French minister did not avail himself of the distress of Austria ; and the army of Turenne, separating itself from that of Wrangel, withdrew to the frontier of the Netherlands. Wrangel, indeed, made the attempt, after moving from Swabia into Franconia, taking Schweinfurt, and incorporating the Imperial garrison of that place with his own army, to make his way into Bohemia, and laid siege to Egra, the key of that kingdom. In order to relieve this fortress, the Emperor put his last army in motion, and placed himself at its head. But the circuit which he was obliged to take, in order to avoid the States of Von Schlick, the President of the Council of War, delayed his march ; and before his arrival, Egra was already taken. Both armies now approached each other ; and a decisive battle was expected, as both were suffering from want, as the Imperialists were superior in number, and both camps were separated from each other only by the intrenchments between them. But the Imperialists contented themselves with keeping close to the enemy, and harassing them by skirmishes, by famine, and fatiguing marches, until the negotiations which had been opened with Bavaria should be brought to a bearing.

The neutrality of Bavaria was a mortification which the Imperial Court could never pardon ; and, after in vain attempting to prevent it, they now determined, if possible, to turn it to advantage. Several officers of the Bavarian army had been irritated by the step of their master, which at once reduced them to inactivity, and imposed a burdensome restraint on their restless disposition. Even the brave John De Werth was at the head of the malcontents, and, excited by the Emperor, he formed the design of seducing the whole army from the service of the Elector, and leading it over to the Emperor. Ferdinand did not blush to patronise this act of treachery against the most trusty ally of his father. He issued formal proclamations to the Electoral troops, in which he reminded them that they were the troops of the empire, which the Elector had merely commanded in name of the Emperor. Maximilian fortunately detected the plot in sufficient time to enable him to anticipate and prevent it by the most rapid and effective measures.

This disgraceful step, on the part of the Emperor, would have justified a reprisal, but Maximilian was too old a statesman to listen to the voice of passion, where policy alone was concerned. He had failed to derive from the truce the advantages he expected. Far from tending to accelerate a general peace, this partial truce had had a pernicious influence upon the negotiations at Munster and Osnaburg, by extending the demands, and increasing the confidence of the allies. The French and Swedes had removed from Bavaria ; but, by the loss of his quarters in the Swabian Circle, he



now saw himself compelled to exhaust his own territories by the subsistence of his troops, unless he should at once resolve to disband them, and to throw aside his arms at the very moment when strength alone seemed to be the arbiter of right. But, before embracing either of these certain evils, he determined to try a third step, the issue of which was at least less certain, that of renouncing the truce and resuming the war.

This resolution, and the assistance which he immediately despatched to the Emperor in Bohemia, threatened the ruin of the Swedes, and Wrangel was compelled in haste to evacuate that country. He retired through Thuringia into Westphalia and Lunenburg, in order to form a junction with the French army under Turenne, while the Imperial and Bavarian army followed him to the Weser, under Melander and Gronsfeld. His ruin was unavoidable if he should be overtaken by the enemy before his junction with Turenne; but the same principle which had formerly saved the Emperor, now proved the salvation of the Swedes. Even amidst all the fury of the conquest, the course of the war was guided by cold calculations of prudence, and the vigilance of the different courts increased, as the prospect of peace approached. The Elector of Bavaria could not allow the Emperor to obtain so decisive a preponderance, or the general peace to be delayed by any sudden alteration of affairs. Every change of fortune was important, now when the treaty was on the point of being concluded, and when the disturbance of the balance of power among the contracting parties, might at once annihilate the work of years, destroy the fruit of long and tedious negotiations,



and delay the repose of all Europe. If France could engage to restrain the Swedish crown within due bounds, and to indemnify the Swedes for their assistance in a fair and reasonable manner, the Elector of Bavaria silently undertook the same task with his ally the Emperor, and determined, by prudently dealing out his assistance, to retain the fate of Austria in his hands: And now that the power of the Emperor threatened once more to attain a dangerous superiority, Maximilian at once ceased to pursue the Swedes. He was also afraid of reprisals upon the part of France, which had threatened to direct Turenne's whole force against him, if he allowed his troops to cross the Weser.

Melander, prevented by the Bavarians from pursuing Wrangel, crossed by Jena and Erfurt into Hesse, and appeared as a formidable enemy in the country which he had formerly defended. If it was the desire of revenge against his former sovereign which induced him to chuse Hesse as the scene of his ravages, he gratified that passion to the utmost. Under the scourge of this tyrant, the miseries of that unfortunate country reached the height. But he soon had reason to regret that, in the choice of his quarters he had listened to the dictates of revenge, rather than of prudence. In this exhausted country his army was oppressed by want, while Wrangel was recruiting his strength, and remounting his cavalry in Lunenburg. Too weak to maintain his wretched quarters against the Swedish general, when he opened the campaign in the winter of 1648, and marched against Hesse, he was obliged to retire with disgrace, and take refuge on the banks of the Danube.

France had once more disappointed the expectations of Sweden ; and the army of Turenne, disregarding the remonstrances of Wrangel, had remained upon the Rhine. The Swedish leader revenged himself, by drawing into his service the cavalry of Weimar, which had left that of France, though, by this step, he increased, still farther, the jealousy of that power. Turenne at last received permission to join the Swedes ; and the last campaign of this eventful war, was now opened by the united armies. They drove Melander before them along the Danube, threw supplies into Egra, which was then besieged by the Imperialists, and defeated the Imperial and Bavarian armies on the Danube, which ventured to oppose them at Summarshausen. In this action Melander was mortally wounded, and the Bavarian General Grons-feld then placed himself on the farther side of the Lech, in order to prevent the enemy's entrance into Bavaria.

But Gustavus was not more fortunate than Tilly, who, in this same position, had sacrificed his life for Bavaria. Wrangel and Turenne chose the same passage over the river, which was distinguished by the victory of Gustavus Adolphus, and accomplished it by means of the same advances which had favoured their predecessor. Bavaria was now a second time overrun, and the breach of the truce punished by the severest treatment of its inhabitants. Maximilian sought shelter in Salzburg, while the Swedes crossed the Iser, and forced their way as far as the Inn. A violent and continued rain, which in a few days swelled this inconsiderable stream into a broad river, once more saved Austria from this threatening danger. The

enemy ten times attempted to form a bridge of boats over the Inn, and as often it was destroyed by the current. Never during the whole course of the war had the terror of the Catholics been so great as at the present moment, when the enemy were in the centre of Bavaria, and where no general remained who could be opposed to a Turonne, a Wrangel, and a Koenigsmark. At last the brave Piccolomini arrived from the Netherlands to take the command of the wreck of the Imperialists. The allies had, by their own ravages in Bohemia, rendered their subsistence in that country difficult, and were at last compelled by want to retreat into the Upper Palatinate, where the news of the peace put a period to their activity.

Koenigsmark, with his flying corps, had advanced towards Bohemia, where Ernest Odowalsky, a disbanded captain, who had been disabled in the Imperial service, and then dismissed without a pension, suggested to him a plan for surprising the Lesser side of the city of Prague. Koenigsmark successfully accomplished the attempt, and acquired the reputation of closing the Thirty Years' War by its last brilliant enterprise. This decisive stroke, which vanquished at last the Emperor's irresolution, cost the Swedes only the loss of a single man. But the Old Town, the larger half of Prague, which is divided into two parts by the Moldau, by its vigorous resistance wearied out the efforts of the Palatine Charles Gustavus, the successor of Christina, who had arrived from Sweden with fresh troops, and had assembled the whole Swedish force in Bohemia and Silesia before its walls. The approach of

winter at last drove the besiegers into winter quarters, and, in the meantime, the intelligence arrived that a peace had been signed at Munster on the 24th October.

The colossal labour attending the completion of this solemn and ever memorable treaty, which is known by the name of the peace of Westphalia; the endless obstacles which were to be surmounted; the contending interests which it was necessary to reconcile; the chain of circumstances which necessarily concurred in order to terminate this tedious, but precious and permanent work of state policy; the difficulties which attended the very opening of the negotiations, maintaining them when opened amidst the ever varying vicissitudes of the war; finally concluding the conditions of peace, and still more the carrying them into execution; what were the conditions of this peace; what each contending power gained or lost by the toils and sufferings of a thirty years' war, what influence it exerted upon the general system of European policy;—these considerations must be left to another pen. The history of the peace of Westphalia constitutes a whole as important as the history of the war itself. A mere abridgment of it would reduce to a mere skeleton one of the most interesting and characteristic monuments of human policy and passions, and deprive it of every feature calculated to fix the attention of the public, for which I write, and of which I now respectfully take my leave.

TRIAL AND EXECUTION  
OF  
COUNTS EGMONT AND HORN.



TRIAL AND EXECUTION  
OF THE  
COUNTS EGMONT AND HORN. \*

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THE two Counts, some weeks after their arrest, were despatched to Ghent under an escort of 3000 Spanish soldiers, where they were detained in the citadel for more than eight months. Their trial took place in form, before the Council of Twelve, which had been appointed by the Duke to take cognizance of the past disturbances in Brussels, while the charge of conducting the proceedings was assigned to the Procurator-General, John

\* The two pieces which follow—the Trial of Counts Egmont and Horn, and the Siege of Antwerp—were intended to form portions of the second volume of the History of the Revolt of the Netherlands, which Schiller never lived to complete. Being in no way connected with the portion of the work which is completed (the latter in particular relating to an event nearly twelve years after the date at which Schiller's History closes), we have given them a place in this volume. The Trial of the two Counts appeared for the first time in the *Thalia*, No. 8, and the Siege of Antwerp in the *Horen* for 1795.



Dubois. That against Count Egmont contained ninety different charges, that which was directed against Count Horn sixty. Every innocent action, every omission on the part of these noblemen, was construed upon the principle which Alba had established in the outset, that the two Counts, in conjunction with the Prince of Orange, had planned the downfall of the royal authority in the Netherlands, and had attempted to usurp the government of the provinces. The expulsion of Granvella, Egmont's mission to Madrid, the confederation of the Gueux, the concessions which they had made to the Protestants within their own districts: all were supposed to be connected with, and to bear reference to, this preconcerted plan. Thus the most trifling occurrences became important, and one action was darkened and discoloured by another. By thus treating every separate article as amounting to the crime of *leze-majestie*, their condemnation would be the better borne out and justified by the union of the whole.

The charges were transmitted to the prisoners, with orders to answer them in five days. After doing so, they were allowed to choose defenders and advocates, who were permitted to obtain free access to the prisoners. But as they were accused of treason, none of their friends were allowed to visit them. Count Egmont made choice of the Seigneur de Landas, and of some distinguished advocates in Brussels.

Their first step was to protest against the competency of the tribunal, as in their character of Knights of the Golden Fleece, they were amenable only to the jurisdiction of the King himself, as Grand Master of that order. But their protest was rejected, and

they were ordered to produce their witnesses, failing which, they were to be proceeded against *in contumaciam*. Egmont had most satisfactorily answered eighty-two of the articles of accusation; while Count Horn had refuted the charges against him clause by clause. The accusation and defence are still in existence; and, upon that defence, they would have been acquitted by any impartial tribunal. The Fiscal pressed for the production of their witnesses, and the Duke of Alba issued repeated orders to accelerate the proceedings. They delayed however, from one week to another, by renewing their protest against the competency of the tribunal. The Duke at last assigned them a term of nine days to adduce their witnesses; and, after the elapse of that period, they were to be pronounced guilty, and debarred from any farther defence.

While these proceedings were in progress, the relations and friends of the two Counts were not idle. Egmont's wife, born a Dutchess of Bavaria, addressed petitions to the German Princes of the Empire, to the Emperor, and to the King of Spain. The Countess of Horn, the mother of the imprisoned Count, who was in terms of friendship or relationship with the first reigning families in Germany, was not less active. All of them loudly protested against this illegal proceeding, and pleaded strongly the freedom of the Empire, to which Count Horn, as Count of the Empire, had special claims, the liberties of the Netherlands, and the privileges of the order of the Golden Fleece. The Countess of Egmont succeeded in interesting almost all the German Courts for her husband; the King of Spain and his Viceroy were besieged with

intercessions, which were referred by the one to the other, and laughed at by both. The Countess of Horn collected certificates from all the Knights of the Golden Fleece in Spain, Germany, and Italy, in order to prove the privileges of the order. Alba rejected them, declaring, that in the present case, they were entitled to no weight. "The crimes," he said, "of which the Counts were accused, had taken place in matters relating to the provinces of the Netherlands, and he (the Duke) had been appointed by the King sole judge in the affairs of the Netherlands."

The Fiscal had been allowed four months to prepare his accusation, and five had been allowed the two Counts to arrange their defence. But instead of employing their time and trouble in the production of evidence, which perhaps would have availed them but little, they preferred wasting it, in protests against their judges, which were of still less service to them. By the former they would have apparently delayed the sentence, and by gaining time, the strong efforts made by their friends in their behalf, might have produced some effect. But by their obstinate resistance to the competency of the tribunal, they afforded the Duke of Alba a handle for cutting short the proceedings. After the elapse of the last appointed term, 5th of June 1658, they were declared guilty by the Council of Twelve, and, on the 4th of that month, sentence of death was pronounced against them.

The execution of twenty-five Flemish gentlemen, which took place during three successive days at the market-place of Brussels, was the terrible prelude to the fate which awaited the two Counts. John Casembrot Von Beckerzeel, se-

cretary to Count Egmont, was one of these unfortunates, who was thus rewarded for his fidelity to his master, which he had maintained even upon the rack, and for the zeal which he had displayed in the King's service against the Iconoclasts. The rest had either been taken with arms in their hands, or arrested and condemned as traitors, on account of the part which they had formerly taken in the petition of the nobles.

The Duke had reason to hasten the execution of the sentence. Count Louis of Nassau had given battle to Count Aremberg, near the convent of Heiligerlee in Gröningen, and had fortunately defeated him. Immediately after his victory, he advanced against Gröningen, to which he laid siege. The success of his arms had raised the courage of his party, and the Prince of Orange, his brother, was advancing with an army to his assistance. All these circumstances rendered the presence of the Duke necessary in these remote provinces; but he could not venture to leave Brussels till the fate of these two important captives was decided. The whole nation was enthusiastically devoted to them, a feeling which was increased rather than diminished by their unfortunate fate. Even the Catholic party disapproved of the execution of these distinguished noblemen. The slightest advantage gained over the arms of the Duke by the rebels, or even the report of such in Brussels, might be sufficient to produce a revolution in the town, and to set these noblemen at liberty. Besides the petitions and intercessions on the part of the German Princes of the Empire, addressed both to the King of Spain and himself,

daily increased, so much so, that Maximilian II. ventured to assure the Countess of Egmont, that she had nothing to fear for the life of her husband. These powerful efforts might at last induce the King to alter his views in favour of the prisoners. He might, even trusting to the usual rapidity of his Viceroy's operations, apparently yield to the representations of these Princes, and recall the sentence, in the assurance that his mercy would come too late. All these considerations disposed the Duke to permit as little delay as possible in the execution of the sentence.

Next day both Counts were brought under a guard of 3000 Spaniards, from the citadel of Ghent to Brussels, and were imprisoned in the Brodthaus, in the great square. Next morning the council was assembled, the Duke appeared in person according to custom, and the two sentences, which had been folded and sealed up, were opened and publicly read by the Secretary Prantz. Both Counts were found guilty of treason, as having favoured and furthered the detestable conspiracy of the Prince of Orange; protected the confederated Nobles, and been guilty of various misdemeanours against the King and the Church within their governments. Both were to be publicly beheaded, their heads exposed upon pikes, and not to be removed without the express orders of the Duke. The sentence was signed only by the Duke and the Secretary Prantz, no trouble being taken to procure the approbation of the other members of the Council.

It was during the night between the 4th and 5th of June, that the sentence was brought to the prisoners, who had already gone to rest. The

Duke had placed it in the hands of the Bishop of Ypres, Martin Rhithove, whom he had expressly summoned to Brussels to prepare the prisoners for death. The Bishop, upon receiving this commission, threw himself at the Duke's feet, and, with tears in his eyes, entreated him to pardon, or at least to delay, the execution of the prisoners. But he received the harsh and stern answer, that he had been sent for from Ypres, not to oppose the sentence, but to render it more tolerable to the unfortunate noblemen through his consolations.

Its contents were first communicated to Count Egmont. "This is in truth a severe sentence," exclaimed the Count with a pale countenance and faltering voice, "I did not think that I had so offended his Majesty, as to deserve such treatment. But if it must be so, I submit to my fate with resignation. May my death expiate my offence, and save my wife and children from suffering by my errors. This favour at least, methinks, my past services entitle me to. I will bear death with calmness, since God and my King will have it so." He then pressed the Bishop solemnly and sincerely to tell him if there was no hope of pardon. When he was told there was none, he confessed himself, and received the sacrament from the priest, whom he accompanied in the mass with the most fervent piety. He asked him what prayer was the best, and most suited to his last moments. On his answering that he knew no prayer more effective than that which had been left by Christ himself, he immediately began to recite the Lord's prayer. The thoughts of his family interrupted him; he called for pen and ink, and wrote

two letters, one to his wife, the other to the King of Spain, the latter of which was in these terms :

“ SIRE,

“ I have this morning read the sentence which your Majesty has been pleased to pronounce against me. Far as I have ever been from attempting any thing against the person or the service of your Majesty, or against the only true and venerable Catholic religion, I submit with patience to the fate which God has been pleased to appoint for me. If, during the past disturbances, I have done, advised, or omitted any thing that seemed contrary to my duty, be assured that it has proceeded from the best intentions, and was forced upon me by the pressure of circumstances. I therefore pray your Majesty to pardon such errors, and, in consideration of my past services, to deal leniently with my poor wife and my unfortunate children and servants. In this hope, I commend myself to the infinite mercy of God.

Your Majesty's most faithful  
vassal and subject,

LAMORAL, COUNT EGMONT.”

*Brussels, 5th of June 1568.*

This letter he placed in the hands of the Bishop, with particular instructions ; and, for the greater security, sent a copy, written with his own hand, to the State Counsellor Viglius, the most lenient member of the Senate, by whom there is no reason to doubt it was transmitted to the King. The family of the Count again received possession of their estates, their fiefs and rights, which, by virtue of the sentence, were forfeited to government.



Meantime a scaffold had been erected in the market-place of Brussels, in front of the Stadthaus, on which two poles with iron points were fixed, and the whole covered with black cloth. Twenty-two companies of the Spanish garrison surrounded the scaffold, a precaution which was by no means superfluous. Betwixt ten and eleven the Spanish guard appeared in the chamber of the Count; they were provided with cords to bind the hands, according to custom. This however he resisted, and declared that he was willing and ready to die. He had himself cut off the collar of his dress, in order to enable the executioner more easily to perform his duty. He wore a night-gown of red damask, and over this a black Spanish mantle, trimmed with gold lace. In this garb he appeared upon the scaffold. He was accompanied by Don Julian Romero, the maitre de camp, a Spanish Captain named Salinas, and the Bishop of Ypres. The Grand Provost of Court, with a red staff in his hand, was seated on horseback at the foot of the scaffold; the executioner was concealed beneath.

Egmont had at first wished to address the people from the scaffold; but the Bishop represented to him, that he either would not be heard, or that the populace in their present disposition might be easily impelled to acts of violence, which could only have the effect of ruining his friends. He then abandoned the idea. He walked with dignity for some minutes up and down the scaffold, and lamented that he was not allowed to die a more honourable death for his King and country. Even to the last he had been unable to persuade himself that the King was in earnest, or that he meant to

proceed any further than a mere terror of an execution. As the decisive moment approached when he was to receive the last sacrament, as he still gazed around, and no prospect of aid approached, he turned to Julian Romero, and asked him once more, if there was no hope of pardon. Julian Romero shrugged his shoulders, looked on the ground, and was silent.

He then fixed his teeth firmly together, threw aside his mantle and robe, knelt down upon the cushion, and prepared for his last devotions. The Bishop gave him the crucifix to kiss, and administered to him extreme unction; after which the Count made a sign to him to leave him. He drew a silk cap over his eyes, and in that position awaited the blow. The body and the blood that flowed from it were immediately concealed from the eyes of the populace by a black cloth.

The deadly stroke seemed to fall upon the heart of every inhabitant of Brussels who surrounded the scaffold. The appalling stillness was broken only by loud sobs. The Duke himself, who witnessed the execution from a window, wiped his eyes as he gazed upon the scene. Soon afterwards Count Horn advanced. Of a more impetuous temperament than his friend, and exasperated against the King by stronger motives, he had received the sentence with less composure, although it was perhaps less unjust towards him than towards his friend. He had burst forth into reproaches against the King, and the Bishop had with difficulty prevailed upon him to employ his last moments more suitably than in uttering imprecations against his enemies. At last he grew

calm, and confessed himself to the Bishop, though he had at first refused to do so.

He mounted the scaffold with the same escort as his friend. In passing he saluted many of his acquaintances; he was attired like Egmont, in a black dress and mantle, with a Milanese cap of the same colour upon his head. When he had mounted the scaffold, he cast his eyes upon the corpse under the cloth, and asked if it was the body of his friend. When he was told it was, he said a few words in Spanish, threw aside his mantle, and knelt down upon the block. A universal cry broke forth as the stroke of death descended.

Both heads were placed upon the poles which had been erected on the scaffold, where they remained till three o'clock in the afternoon. Afterwards they were taken down, and placed, with the bodies, in leaden coffins.

Even the presence of the executioner, and of the spies that surrounded the scaffold, could not prevent the citizens of Brussels from dipping their handkerchiefs in the blood, and treasuring up these relics of the unfortunate victims.



THE  
SIEGE OF ANTWERP.



THE  
SIEGE OF ANTWERP,  
BY THE  
PRINCE OF PARMA,  
IN  
1584 AND 1585.

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THERE is a peculiar interest in witnessing the contest of human invention with powerful elements of opposition, and the ultimate triumph of prudence, resolution and constancy, over difficulties which, to ordinary minds, appear invincible. Less attractive, perhaps, but still more instructive, is the contrary view of human nature ;—where the want of these qualities renders vain all the efforts of genius, and all the favours of fortune, and where the inability to improve the advantages they possess, deprives men of that success which, with ordinary prudence, was already certain. Examples of both are to be found in the celebrated Siege of Antwerp by the Spaniards, in the close of the sixteenth century; an enterprise which for ever de-



prived this flourishing city of its commercial importance, while it conferred immortal renown on the general who undertook and accomplished it.

Twelve years had elapsed since the commencement of the war, during which the Northern Provinces of Belgium had been contending, at first only for freedom of religious belief and the privileges of the States, against the encroachments of the Spanish Governor, but latterly for their absolute independence of the Spanish monarchy. Never completely conquerors, nor completely vanquished, they wearied out the courage of Spain by tedious warlike operations on an unfavourable soil, and exhausted the efforts of the Master of both the Indies, while they themselves were called, and, in point of fact, were, almost "*beggars*." The confederation of Ghent, which had united the whole of the Netherlands, Protestant and Catholic, into one common and (could such an association have endured) invincible body, was indeed at an end; but instead of that uncertain and unnatural union, the Northern Provinces had, in the year 1579, formed the confederation of Utrecht, which, as it was cemented by a communion of interests and religious belief, seemed to promise a longer duration. What the new republic had at first lost by this separation from the Catholic Provinces, was more than balanced by the increased closeness of the new alliance, by unity of purpose and energy of execution; and perhaps it was better to sacrifice in time, what no exertion could ever have effectually maintained.

The greater part of the Walloon Provinces, either from choice or compulsion, had been reduced in the year 1584, under the yoke of Spain. The

Northern Countries alone resisted with firmness. A considerable portion of Brabant and Flanders still held out with obstinacy against the arms of Alexander, Prince of Parma, who at that time directed the government of the Provinces, and commanded the army with equal energy and prudence, and who, by a career of success, had again raised the military reputation of Spain. The natural situation of the country, which by means of rivers and canals promoted the communication of cities with each other and with the sea, increased the difficulty of every conquest; and the possession of one place could only be obtained by the command of the rest. As long as their mutual communication continued, Holland and Zealand could with little difficulty assist their confederates, and furnish them, either by sea or land, with supplies which no efforts could prevent, while the King's troops were exhausted by tedious and fruitless sieges.

The most important town in Brabant was Antwerp, both on account of its riches, population, and strength, and its situation at the mouth of the Schelde. This large and populous city, containing at that time upwards of 80,000 inhabitants, was one of the most active members of the League of the Netherlands, and had distinguished itself above all the other cities of Belgium by an inextinguishable freedom of opinion. As it included within its walls all the divisions of the Christian church, and owed much of its prosperity to this unlimited toleration, so it had by far the most to fear from the dominion of Spain, which threatened to annihilate religious freedom, and to expel the Protestant merchants from its markets, by the

terrors of the Inquisition. They had already experienced the brutality of the Spanish garrisons; and could not fail to perceive, that if they once bent their necks to this intolerable yoke, they never would again be able to rid themselves of its burden.

But, powerful as were these inducements to resistance on the part of Antwerp, considerations not less weighty determined the Spanish General, at every price, to make himself master of the town. On the possession of Antwerp depended in a great measure that of the whole territory of Brabant, which was chiefly supplied through this channel with grain from Zealand; while its capture would give the victors the command of the Schelde. It would deprive the League of Brabant, which held its meetings there, of its strongest support, and the whole Protestant party of its dangerous example, its counsel, and its treasure, while the riches of its inhabitants would replenish the coffers of the King, which were now exhausted by the necessities of war. Its fall must, sooner or later, draw after it that of the whole of Brabant; and the preponderance once obtained in that quarter, would ultimately prove decisive in favour of the King. Determined by these views, the Prince of Parma, in July 1584, collected his army, and marched from Dornick, where he then was, to the neighbourhood of Antwerp, with the intention of laying siege to the town. \*

But both the natural situation, and the artificial securities of Antwerp, seemed to bid defiance to every attack. Surrounded on the side of Bra-

\* Thuan. Hist. Tom. II. 527.—Grotius De Reb. Belgicis, 84.

bant with impregnable works, and moats filled with water; and on the Flanders side by the broad and rapid stream of the Schelde, it could not be surprised by any sudden assault; and thus defended, the siege could only be carried on with effect by a land force, triple that of the prince, and a fleet, which he entirely wanted. The river not only supplied the town with abundance of every necessary from Ghent, but opened also an easy communication with the adjacent territory of Zealand. As the tides of the North Sea extend far up the Schelde, and ebb regularly, Antwerp possesses the peculiar advantage, that the same tide, at different periods, flows past it in opposite directions. Besides, the neighbouring cities of Brussels, Mechlin, Ghent, Dendermonde, and others, were all in the hands of the League, and could facilitate the conveyance of supplies upon the land side. Two different armies, therefore, were necessary, one on each bank of the river, to blockade the town by land, and to cut off its communication with Flanders and Brabant; and a fleet sufficient to guard the passage of the Schelde, and to prevent the admission of those supplies which could undoubtedly be poured in from Zealand. But the army of the Prince of Parma was now reduced, in consequence of the war which he had still to maintain in other quarters, and the numerous garrisons which he had been obliged to leave in the towns and fortresses, to 10,000 foot and 1700 horse, a force very inadequate to an undertaking of this formidable nature. These troops were also inadequately supplied with necessaries, and the long arrears of pay which were due, had given rise to secret discon-

tents, which hourly threatened to break out into open mutiny. If, notwithstanding these obstacles, they should still attempt the siege, they had every thing to fear from the fortresses they had left behind in the hands of the enemy, from whence it would be easy for the garrisons to annoy their divided army by well directed sallies, and to distress them by intercepting their convoys.\*

These difficulties were fully appreciated by the Council, to whom the Prince of Parma opened his plan. With all their confidence in themselves, and in the tried capacity of such a leader, the most experienced generals did not attempt to disguise their doubts as to its issue, with the exception of two only, whose impetuous disposition placed them beyond the reach of such prudential considerations, Capizucchi and Mondragone, all of them disadvised this hazardous enterprise, by which they ran the risk of losing the fruits of all their former conquests, and of tarnishing all the military renown which they had acquired.

But objections which he had already foreseen and answered, could not alter the plans of the Prince of Parma. They had not been formed in ignorance of these dangers, or with a thoughtless and overweening confidence in his own resources. But that instinctive feeling which enables great minds to tread with security and success, in a course which inferior men would either have never commenced, or never completed, raised him above the influence of the doubts which a cold and limited prudence would have opposed to his

\* Strada, De B. Bel. Dec. II. Lib. VI.

views ; and without being able to persuade his generals, he felt an internal conviction of their correctness, not the less to be relied on perhaps, that it was dark and indefinable. A career of success had exalted his confidence ; and the sight of the army by which he was surrounded, unequalled in Europe for discipline, experience and bravery, and commanded by the most eminent officers, was in itself sufficient to banish every thought of fear. To those who objected to the smallness of its number, he used to answer, that whatever might be the length of the pike, it was but the *point* that inflicted the wound ; and that in military enterprises, more depended on the forces actually employed, than on the mass which might be called into action. He was aware of the discontents of his troops, but he was acquainted also with their obedience ; and he thought that their attention would be most effectually withdrawn from these private grievances, by employing them in some important undertaking, which might operate by its brilliancy, on their love of military renown, and on their avarice, by the high prize which the plunder of such a prosperous city would offer to the conqueror. \*

In the plan which he had laid down for the conduct of the siege, he resolved to meet with energy the manifold difficulties of the enterprise. Famine was the only engine by which he could hope to make himself master of Antwerp ; and, in order to avail himself of this terrible expedient, it was necessary to shut up every avenue to it either by sea or land. In order to impede, if not

\* Strada, loc. cit. 553.

to put a stop to the communication with Zealand, he determined, in the first place, to obtain possession of those works which the inhabitants had erected on both banks of the Schelde, for the protection of their fleet; and, in their place, to erect new bulwarks, which should command the whole extent of the river. And, that the city might not be supplied on the land side with those succours which he was endeavouring to cut off by sea, it was resolved that all the surrounding cities of Flanders and Brabant should be included in the blockade, and the fall of Antwerp be made to depend on their surrender. It was indeed a gigantic, and, looking only to the limited means of the Prince of Parma, almost an extravagant enterprise; but the attempt was justified by the genius of its author, and the brilliant success of its issue.\*

As the execution of so extensive a plan required time, it was necessary to commence by the erection of forts upon the canals and rivers which connect Antwerp with Dendermonde, Ghent, Mechlin, Brussels, and the other towns in the neighbourhood, and thus to render the communication between them more difficult. Spanish garrisons were at the same time quartered in their neighbourhood, and almost at their very gates, which laid waste the level country around, and kept the surrounding territory in alarm by their incursions. Three thousand men were placed before Ghent alone, and before the other towns in proportion. By means of these expedients, and of the secret communication which he maintained with the Catholic inhabitants of these towns, the

\* Strada, Dec. ii. Lib. vi.



prince hoped to be able, without weakening his own forces, gradually to exhaust their strength, and, by the harassing operation of a petty and incessant warfare, without any formal siege, to reduce them to submission. \*

In the meantime the main efforts of the Prince of Parma were to be directed against Antwerp, which he now entirely surrounded with his troops. He posted himself at Bevern in Flanders, a few miles from Antwerp, where he constructed a fortified camp. The Flanders side of the Schelde was intrusted to the Margrave of Rysburg, general of the cavalry, the Brabant side to Count Peter Ernest of Mansfeld, and to another Spanish leader, Mondragone. The two last crossed the Schelde successfully upon pontoons, notwithstanding the opposition of the Flemish admiral's ship, which had been sent against them, and passing Antwerp, took up their position at Stabröck in Bergen. Some detached corps were scattered along the whole Brabant side of the Schelde, who were employed partly in guarding the dykes, and partly in blocking up the passages by land.

Some miles below Antwerp the Schelde is guarded by two strong forts, one of which is situated at Liefkenhoek, on the Island of Doel in Flanders, and the other at Lillo, directly opposite, on the side of Brabant. The last had been built by Mondragone by order of the Duke of Alba while he governed in Antwerp, and to him the attack of the fortress was now intrusted by the Prince of Parma. Upon the possession of these forts the whole fate of the siege seemed to depend,

\* Meteren, Hist. of the Netherlands, Book XII. 467, seq.

because every vessel sailing from Zealand to Antwerp was obliged to pass the Schelde, under the fire of their cannon. Both forts had been lately strengthened by the Flemish, and their preparations for the defence of the first were scarcely completed, when it was attacked by the Margrave of Rysburg. The celerity with which the Spanish general went to work, confounded the enemy who were not sufficiently on their guard, and a brisk assault directed against Liefkenhoek, left this fort in the hands of the Spaniards. This loss occurred on the same unfortunate day that the Prince of Orange fell at Delft by the hand of an assassin. The other defences erected on the Island of Doel, were partly taken, partly abandoned by their defenders, so that in a short time the whole Flemish side of the Schelde was in the possession of the Spaniards. But the fort of Lillo on the side of Brabant opposed a far more vigorous resistance, as the inhabitants of Antwerp had found time to strengthen its fortifications, and to furnish it with a strong garrison. Desperate sallies of the besieged, under the conduct of Odet de Teligny, and covered by the cannon of the fort, destroyed all the works of the Spaniards, and an inundation produced by the opening of the sluices, drove them after a three weeks' siege, with the loss of two thousand men, from the place. They returned to their fortified camp at Stabröck, and contented themselves with occupying the dykes, which cut across the low country of Bergen, and erecting a breastwork against the impetuosity of the Easter Schelde.

\* Meteren. Book xii. 477, 478.—Strad. Loc. Cit. Thuanus, ii. 527.

The failure of the attempt upon Fort Lillo changed the plans of the Prince of Parma. Unable in this way to shut up the passage of the Schelde, on which the fate of the siege depended, he determined to effect his purpose by erecting a bridge across the whole breadth of the river. The project was a bold one, and, in the opinion of many, extravagant and visionary. Both the breadth of the river, which, in this neighbourhood, exceeded twelve hundred paces, and the rapidity of the current, rendered still more impetuous by the tides of the neighbouring sea, seemed to render every attempt of this kind hopeless; and to this was added the want of building materials, of ships, and workmen, and the danger of the position between the fleets of Antwerp and Zealand, to whom it would be an easy matter, in combination with a stormy element, to destroy and render fruitless so tedious an undertaking. But the Prince of Parma knew his strength, and his settled resolution would yield to nothing but absolute impossibilities. After measuring both the breadth and depth of the river, and consulting with two of his ablest engineers, Barocci and Plato, he determined to build the bridge between Calloo in Flanders and Ordam in Brabant. This situation was chosen, because the river is here narrowest, and bends a little to the right, so as to detain vessels for some time, and oblige them to change their tack. Strong bastions were erected at both ends to cover the bridge; the one situated on the Flanders side, being called Fort St Maria, and the other on the side of Brabant, Fort St Philip, in honour of the King. †

† Strad. Dec. 2. Lib. VI. 57.

While the most active preparations were making in the Spanish camp for the execution of this plan, and the whole attention of the enemy was directed to it, the Prince made an unexpected attack upon Dendermonde, a strong town situated between Ghent and Antwerp, at the confluence of the Dender and the Schelde. As long as this important place remained in the enemy's hand, the cities of Ghent and Antwerp could mutually support each other, and by an easy communication, frustrate all the labours of the besiegers. Its capture would allow the Prince to act with freedom and security against both, and might prove decisive of the issue of his undertaking. The rapidity of his attack, left the inhabitants no time to open their sluices and to lay the country under water. A strong cannonade was opened against the principal bastion of the town before the Brussels gate, but the fire of the besieged, proved most destructive to the Spaniards. Even this, however, seemed rather to increase than to damp their ardour, and the conduct of the garrison, who mutilated the statue of a saint before their eyes, and threw it down from the breast-work with the most contemptuous abuse, inflamed them almost to madness. They crowded forward, demanding to be led to the bastion even before a breach had been formed; and the Prince, in order to avail himself of the first ardour of their impetuosity, gave orders for the assault. After a murderous combat of two hours, the breast-work was carried, and such of the garrison as had escaped the fury of the Spaniards, threw themselves into the town. It was now still more exposed to the fire of the enemy, directed against it from the ramparts which

had been abandoned ; but the strong walls, and broad ditches filled with water by which it was surrounded, gave reason to expect a long resistance. The inventive mind of the Prince of Parma, however, soon overcame these obstacles. While the bombardment continued day and night without intermission, the troops were incessantly employed in diverting the course of the Dender, which supplied the trenches with water ; and despair seized the besieged, when they saw the water in their trenches, now the only protection of the town, gradually disappearing. They hastened to surrender, and received a Spanish garrison into the city in August 1584. Thus, in the short space of eleven days, the Prince of Parma completed an undertaking, for which, in the opinion of intelligent men, as many weeks would have been necessary. \*

The city of Ghent now cut off from Antwerp and from the sea, closely surrounded by the royal army, which was encamped in its neighbourhood, and without hope of any immediate succour, gave up every thing for lost, as the ghastly spectre of famine with its terrible consequences drew nearer and nearer. The inhabitants sent deputies to the Spanish camp at Bevern, offering to surrender on the same conditions which the Prince had in vain offered them some time before. They were told that the time for proposals was past, and that nothing but an unconditional submission could appease the monarch whom they had irritated by their rebellion. They had even reason to fear that the same humiliating submission would be

\* Stral. loc. cit. Meteren. XII. 479.—Thuan, 2. 529.

exacted from them to which their rebellious ancestors had been subjected in the days of Charles V.; namely, that they should be obliged to sue for pardon half naked, and with a halter about their necks. The deputies returned to Ghent in despair; but three days after a new embassy was despatched, which at last, by the intercession of a friend of the Prince of Parma, who was then a prisoner in Ghent, succeeded in effecting a treaty upon more reasonable terms. The city was compelled to pay a fine of 200,000 guilders, to recall the banished Catholics, and to banish its Protestant inhabitants, who were to be allowed two years to arrange their affairs. All the inhabitants, with the exception of six, who were marked out for punishment, (but afterwards pardoned), were included in a general amnesty, and the garrison, amounting to 2000 men, was allowed an honourable retreat. The treaty was signed in September 1584, at the Spanish head-quarters at Bevern, and a garrison of 3000 Spanish troops immediately occupied Ghent. \*

The Prince of Parma thus succeeded, more by the dread of his name and the terrors of famine, than by his military strength in reducing to submission this city, the largest and best fortified in the Netherlands, which is little inferior in extent to Paris within the barriers, including 37,000 houses, and situated upon 20 islands, connected by 98 stone bridges. The important privileges which this city in the course of several centuries had extorted from its rulers, nourished in its inhabitants a spirit of independence, which not unfre-

\* Meteren. 479, 480. Book XII.—Strad. loc. cit. 562, 563.

quently showed itself in riot and contempt of authority, and was naturally and strongly opposed to the government of the House of Austria. This extreme freedom of opinion had procured for the Reformation the most rapid and extensive success in Ghent, and these united motives of civil and religious independence had given rise to all those scenes of commotion, for which, during the course of this war, it had unfortunately been distinguished. Besides the fine imposed upon the inhabitants, the Prince of Parma found within its walls a large store of artillery, carriages, ships, and building materials, with the requisite number of workmen and sailors, of whom not a few were necessary for his main enterprise against Antwerp. \*

Before Ghent had surrendered, the towns of Vilvorden and Herentals had fallen into the hands of the Spaniards; and the fortifications in the vicinity of Willebroek had been taken possession of, so as to separate Antwerp from Brussels and Mechlin. The loss of all these places within so short a period deprived Antwerp of all hope of succour from Brabant and Flanders, and limited all their prospects of assistance to the supplies from Zealand, of which the Prince of Parma was labouring so anxiously, by his operations upon the Schelde, to deprive them. †

The inhabitants of Antwerp had looked upon the first preparations of the Spanish general with that proud security which the imposing aspect of their majestic river naturally inspired. This confidence was in some measure justified by the opi-

\* Meteren, loc. cit.

† Meteren, 47, &c.—Thuan, ii. 529



nion of the Prince of Orange, who, upon the first intelligence of the siege, had said, that the cause of Spain would be wrecked before the walls of Antwerp. That nothing, however, might be neglected that was necessary for its defence, he had, within a short time of his murder, sent for the Burgomaster of Antwerp, Philip Marnix of St Aldegonde, his friend and confident, to Delft, to take measures with him for that purpose. The plan which was then arranged was, that the large dyke between Sanvliet and Lillo, called the Blauwga-rendyk, should be suddenly opened, so as to allow the waters of the Easter Schelde, as soon as it became necessary, to inundate the low country of Bergen, and thus, in the event of a partial interruption of the navigation of the Scheldt, to open a passage for the Zealand fleet to the city, across the inundated country. St Aldegonde, upon his return, proposed the measure to the magistracy and the citizens, but was opposed by the corporation of butchers, who complained that the measure would prove ruinous to them, as the country which they proposed to lay under water was principally meadow ground, on which about 12,000 cattle were yearly pastured. The corporation carried the day, and contrived to delay the execution of the project till both the dykes and the pastureland had fallen into the hands of the Spaniards. †

By the directions of the Burgomaster, St Aldegonde, who was himself a member of the State Council of Brabant, and stood high in their opinion, the fortifications of Antwerp on both sides of the Schelde, had been strengthened before the

† General Hist. of United Netherlands, iii. 469; Gro-tius, 88.

arrival of the Spaniards, and several new batteries erected around the town. The dyke at Saftengen had been opened, and the waters of the Wester Schelde allowed to inundate the whole country of the Waes. In the neighbouring territory of Bergen, troops had been raised by the Count Von Hohenlohe; and a Scotch regiment, under the command of Colonel Morgan, was already in the pay of the Republic, while new subsidies were expected from England and France. Above all, the States of Holland and Zealand were urged to hasten their supplies and assistance. But when the enemy had obtained a firm footing on both sides of the stream, and the fire of their batteries began to render the navigation dangerous,—when town after town in Brabant fell into their hands, and their cavalry intercepted all supplies from the land side, the inhabitants of Antwerp began to feel some dark and anxious apprehensions about the future. Their numbers at that time amounted to 85,000, and by the calculation they had made, 800,000 quarters of grain were annually required for their subsistence. At the commencement of the siege, neither money nor efforts were wanting to provide these necessary supplies, and in spite of the fire of the enemy, the provision-ships from Zealand, taking advantage of the rising tide, contrived to make their way to the city. It was difficult, however, to prevent some of the rich citizens from buying up the provisions, in order to take advantage of the common necessity, and to raise their price. In order to put a stop to this practice, an individual named Gianibelli, from Mantua, who had settled in Antwerp, and who afterwards rendered important services in the

course of the siege, proposed an impost of the hundredth penny, and the formation of a society of respectable citizens, who should purchase the grain, and distribute it weekly. The rich were to advance the money in the first instance, to retain the provisions they had purchased in their magazines as a pledge, and to have their share in the profits. The proposal, however, was displeasing to the richer inhabitants, who had resolved to turn the public distress to their own advantage. They recommended, on the contrary, that every person should be ordered to provide himself with the necessary provisions for two years; a plan sufficiently well adapted for their own purposes, but very unreasonable in regard to the poorer citizens, who could scarcely have found means to provide themselves beforehand for as many months. They would thus succeed, either in driving the latter from the town entirely, or in rendering them dependent on themselves; but as they recollected also, that in the time of distress their right of property might not be very scrupulously respected, they thought it advisable to be in no hurry with their purchases. †

The magistracy of the town, in their anxiety to guard against an evil which pressed upon one class of the community, had recourse to a measure which endangered the safety of all. Some contractors in Zealand, had freighted a numerous fleet with provisions, which passed successfully through the fire of the enemy, and landed at Antwerp. The hope of large profits had induced these merchants to attempt this hazardous speculation; and in this expectation they found themselves disap-

† Univ. Hist. of the United Netherlands, III. 472.

pointed upon their arrival. The magistrates of Antwerp had just published an edict regulating the prices of all provisions. In order to prevent individuals from purchasing the whole cargoes, and shutting them up in their magazines in order to retail them at a dearer rate, they gave orders that every thing should be sold freely from the shops to all comers. The contractors, deprived of their profits by means of this precaution, set sail again immediately, and left Antwerp with the greater part of their cargoes, which would have afforded subsistence to the inhabitants for several months. \*

This neglect of the most essential and natural means of deliverance, would be inconceivable, were it not that the inhabitants then believed, that a total interruption of the passage of the Schelde was impossible, and had no serious apprehension of being reduced to absolute extremity. When the news came, that the Prince proposed to build a bridge across the Schelde, this visionary enterprise was made the subject of universal ridicule. The citizens drew comparisons between their river and the republic, and observed that neither the one nor the other, would submit to the Spanish yoke. "Was it to be supposed," they said, "that a river of 2400 feet broad,—even with its own waters alone above sixty feet in depth, and in which the tide mounted twelve feet more, could be spanned by a miserable bridge of piles? Where was the Prince to find beams high enough to show their heads above the water? And what was to become of such a work in winter, when the impetuous current of the Schelde carried down islands and

\* Grotius, 92. Reidan. Belg. Ann. 69.

mountains of ice, which stone walls would scarcely resist, against its feeble bulwarks, and shattered them like glass? If the Prince intended to build a bridge of ships, where was he to find them, and how was he to bring them within his fortifications? They could only reach them by passing Antwerp, and there a fleet was already prepared, by which they must either be sunk or taken." \*

But while the citizens of Antwerp were thus employed in ridiculing the extravagance of his undertaking, the Prince of Parma had already completed it. As soon as the forts of Santa Maria and St Philip were erected, so as to protect the works and the workmen by their fire, a scaffolding was built out into the river on both sides, for which the masts of the highest vessels were required. These bulwarks were intended to give such solidity to the whole, as might enable the bridge to resist the pressure of the ice; and the event proved that their strength was not overrated. They penetrated deep into the bed of the river, and rose high above the water, being covered on the top with planks, so as to form a commodious path, wide enough to allow eight persons to cross abreast, while a balustrade, formed on both sides, protected them from the musketry of the enemy's ships. This *staccade*, as it was called, ran out into the stream from both sides, as far as the depth of the water and the rapidity of the current would permit. The river was thus narrowed to the breadth of eleven hundred feet; but as no such erections could be made in the centre of the current, there still remained between the two stac-

\* Strada, de B. Bel. 560.

cedes an open space more than six hundred paces in width, through which a whole fleet loaded with provisions might pass without much difficulty. This intermediate space the Prince determined to fill up by a bridge of ships, for which the vessels should be sent from Dunkirk. But besides that they were deficient in number, there was little probability of their passing Antwerp without a considerable loss. In the meantime, he was obliged to remain contented with having contracted the course of the stream nearly one half, and thus rendered the passage so much the more difficult for the vessels of the enemy. Where the staccades terminated in the middle of the river, they spread out into an oblong square, which was strongly mounted with cannon, and formed a sort of fort upon the water. Thus, every ship which attempted to pass through the opening was exposed to a terrible fire from these forts; and yet, notwithstanding these dangers, both fleets and single vessels continued to attempt and to execute the passage with success. †

In the meantime Ghent surrendered, and this unexpected acquisition at once released the Prince of Parma from his doubts. He found in this city every thing he required for his intended bridge of vessels, and now the only difficulty lay in bringing them to the place. The enemy had, themselves, opened to him a passage. By opening the dykes at Saftingen, great part of the country of Waes, as far as the village of Borcht, had been laid under water, so that he thought it would not be difficult to pass over it in flat-bottomed vessels. He

† Strada, 360—Thuin, 550—Meteren, B. XII.

ordered his ships to leave Ghent ; and after passing Dendermonde and Rupelmonde, to break down the left dyke of the Schelde, to leave Antwerp on the right, and to sail over the inundation to Borcht. To render the voyage more secure, a battery was erected at Borcht, so as to keep the enemy in check. Every thing succeeded to the wishes of the Prince, though not without a smart combat with the enemy's fleet, which had been sent out to intercept their passage. After breaking down some other dykes, they reached the Spanish quarters at Calloo, and were successfully launched upon the Schelde. The joy of the army on their arrival was still farther increased, when they learned the perils they had escaped. For scarcely had they extricated themselves from the enemy's fleet, when a strong reinforcement arrived from Antwerp, under the command of the brave defender of Lillo, Odet de Teligny. When he saw that the affair was over, and that the Spaniards had escaped, he took possession of the dyke which they had broken through, and immediately erected a battery on the spot, in order to close the passage against any vessels from Ghent which might afterwards arrive.\*

This step of Teligny placed the Prince in some embarrassment. He still wanted a considerable number of vessels, both for the erection of the bridge and its defence, and the way by which the others had passed was now effectually blocked up by the fort erected by Teligny. While he was employed in reconnoitring the country, in order to discover a new passage for his fleet, an idea oc-

\* Meteren, 481.—Strada, 564.



curred to him, which not only put an end to his present difficulties, but contributed mainly to the ultimate success of his enterprise. Not far from the village of Stecken, in the country of the Waes, which is situated within about 5000 paces of the commencement of the inundation, runs the Moer, a small stream which falls into the Schelde near Ghent. From this river he ordered a canal to be dug across the country, to the spot where the inundation began, and, as the waters scarcely rose high enough, it was continued between Bevern and Verrebroek, as far as Calloo, where it opened into the Schelde. Five hundred pioneers laboured at the work without intermission, and, to increase their activity, the Prince laid his hand to the work himself,—thus imitating the example of two noble Romans, Drusus and Corbulo, who, in a similar way, had connected the Rhine with the Zuydersee, and the Maes with the Rhine.

This canal, which the army, in honour of its projector, named the Canal of Parma, was 14,000 paces long, and of a depth and breadth sufficient to bear vessels of considerable burden. It furnished the ships from Ghent, not only with a more secure, but also a much shorter passage to the Spanish quarters, as they were no longer obliged to follow the extensive windings of the Schelde, but could sail at once from Ghent into the Moer, and from thence by the canal at Stecken, and across the inundation to Calloo. As the productions of all Flanders were to be found in profusion in Ghent, this canal opened a communication between the Spanish camp and the whole province. Abundance was poured in from every quarter, so

that, during the course of the siege, no want of necessaries or luxuries was again experienced. But the principal advantage which the Prince derived from this work, was an ample supply of those flat-bottomed vessels with which he intended to complete the erection of his bridge. \*

In the course of these preparations, the winter came on, which, as the Schelde was frozen over, occasioned a considerable delay in the building of the bridge. The Prince had contemplated with anxiety the approach of this season of the year, which might prove so destructive to the work he had undertaken, while it would afford the enemy an opportunity so much the more favourable for an attack upon his fortifications. But the caution and ability of his engineers delivered him from the first danger, and the inactivity of the enemy from the second. It frequently happened, indeed, that with the rise of the tide large shoals of ice were caught by the staccades, and were driven with violence against the timbers of the bridge; but it stood firm; and the wild uproar of the elements only proved the solidity with which it had been erected.

In the meantime, important moments had been wasted in fruitless deliberations in Antwerp, and the general security had been lost sight of amidst the agitation of party quarrels. The government of the city was divided among too many hands, and too strongly influenced by a disorderly populace to allow any one to consider with calmness, to decide with judgment, or to execute with firmness. Besides the magistracy itself, in which the Burgomaster had but a single vote, there

\* Strad. 565.

were in the city a crowd of corporations to which the external and internal defence, the management of provisions, the fortifying of the town, the direction of the navy and of commerce, were intrusted, all of which were only to be managed by persuasion. By means of this crowd of speakers, who intruded themselves at pleasure into the Council of the State, and carried, by means of their outcries and their numbers, what they could not obtain by reason, the populace acquired a dangerous influence over the public councils, and the natural opposition of so many discordant interests prevented the adoption of any wholesome measure. A government so weak and vacillating could exercise no great influence over an insolent navy, and a soldiery proud of their own strength; and hence the orders of the State were imperfectly obeyed, and the decisive moment more than once allowed to escape by the negligence, if not the open mutiny, of the troops and mariners. \*

This disagreement as to the *means* by which the enemy were to be opposed, would not have been by any means so fatal had the parties been agreed as to the end. But on this point also the more wealthy citizens and the mass of the population were divided; for the former, who had every thing to apprehend from allowing matters to be carried to extremities, were strongly inclined to treat with the Prince of Parma. This inclination they no longer attempted to conceal when the Fort of Liefkenhoek fell into the hands of the Spaniards, and serious apprehensions began to be entertained as to the navigation of the Schelde. Some came at once to the point, and refusing to

\* Meteren, 581—Thuan, 2. 529—Grotius, 88.

be partakers with the city in misfortune, though they had been sharers in its prosperity, would have left it at once to its fate. Sixty or seventy of the remainder of this class presented a petition to the Council, in which they expressed their wish that terms should be proposed to the King. No sooner, however, was the intelligence communicated to the populace, than their indignation broke out with such vehemence, that nothing but the fining and imprisonment of the petitioners could appease the tumult; and tranquillity was only fully restored by the publication of an edict, imposing the punishment of death on all who either publicly or privately should countenance proposals for peace. \*

No part of these disturbances escaped the notice of the Prince of Parma, who had secret communications with Antwerp, as well as the other cities of Brabant and Flanders, and who was well served by his agents, and he lost no time in taking advantage of them. Though he had already made considerable progress in his preparations for the complete blockade of the city, much yet remained to be done, and a single unfortunate moment might destroy the labour of many months. Without neglecting his warlike preparations therefore, he determined to try seriously, whether he could not make himself master of the town by fair means. In November of this year, he wrote a letter to the great Council of Antwerp, in which he used every artifice likely to induce the citizens to surrender the town, or to increase their mutual dissensions. He treated them in this letter as misled men, and

\* Meteren, 485.

laid the whole blame of their revolt and resistance upon the intriguing spirit of the Prince of Orange, from whose artifices they had lately been freed by the just vengeance of Heaven. It was now, he said, in their power to awake from their long infatuation, and to return to their<sup>s</sup> allegiance to a monarch who was anxious to be reconciled to them. For his own part, he would joyfully be the instrument of reconciliation, since he had never ceased to love a land in which he was born, and where he had passed the happiest days of his youth. He urged them immediately to send to him plenipotentiaries, with whom he might arrange conditions of peace, and gave them reason to expect the most favourable terms if they submitted in time, while he threatened them with the severest punishments if they obstinately continued to push matters to extremity.

This letter, in which they recognised with pleasure a language very different from that which the Duke of Alba had held ten years before in similar circumstances, was answered by the inhabitants in a tone of dignity and decision. While they did ample justice to the personal character of the Prince, and acknowledged, with gratitude, his kind inclinations towards them, they lamented the hardship of circumstances which placed it beyond his power to do justice to his feelings. They would with pleasure have placed their fate in his hands, had he been the master of his own actions, instead of being the instrument of another's will, and the defender of a cause which his better judgment and his private feelings must condemn. They knew but too well the unchanging counsels of the King

of Spain, and the vow which he had made to the Pope ; on this side they had nothing to hope. They defended with a noble warmth the memory of the Prince of Orange, their benefactor and deliverer, while they detailed the true causes which had produced this unfortunate war. and separated the provinces from the Spanish Crown. They did not disguise at the same time that they had hopes of finding another and a milder master in the King of France ; and this consideration alone was sufficient to determine them against the proposals of Philip, since they could enter into no treaty with him, without being guilty of the basest inconstancy and ingratitude. †

Under the influence of the despondency produced by a series of calamities, the United Provinces had indeed come to the resolution of placing themselves under the protection and sovereignty of France, and of preserving their existence, and their ancient privileges, by the sacrifice of their independence. With this view an embassy had some time before been despatched to Paris ; and it was the prospect of this powerful assistance which principally supported the courage of the inhabitants of Antwerp. Henry III. King of France, was personally inclined to yield to their wishes ; but the troubles which the activity of the Spaniards promoted in his dominions, obliged him at last, against his wish, to abandon the project. The provinces then turned for assistance to Elizabeth of England, who actually sent them supplies, though they came too late to save Antwerp. While the citizens were awaiting the issue of these

† Thuan, ii. 530, 531 — Meteren, 185, 186.

negotiations, and looking around and abroad for assistance, they were unfortunately neglecting the nearest and most natural means of deliverance ; and the whole winter was lost, while the enemy were enabled to avail themselves of it with the fullest effect, in consequence of their indecision and inactivity. \*

St Aldegonde, the Burgomaster of Antwerp, had indeed repeatedly urged the fleet of Zealand to attack the enemy's works, while the expedition was to be supported from Antwerp on the other side. The long and frequently stormy nights of winter favoured this attempt ; and if a sally were at the same time made by the garrison of Lillo, it seemed scarcely possible for the enemy to resist this triple attack. But, unfortunately, dissensions existed between the leaders of the fleet, Wilhelm Von Blois, Von Tresslung, and the Admiralty of Zealand, and the result was, that the equipment of the fleet was most unaccountably delayed. To quicken their preparations, Teligny resolved to go in person to Middleburg, where the States of Zealand were assembled ; but as the enemy were in possession of all the passes, the attempt cost him his freedom, and the Republic lost in him its bravest defender. In the meantime, however, there was no want of trading-vessels, which, under cover of the night, and favoured by the rising tide, passed through the opening of the bridge in spite of the enemy's fire, threw provisions into the town, and retired with the ebb of the tide. But as many of these vessels fell into the hands of the

\* Meteren, 488, et seq. ; Gen. Hist. iii. 476-491 ; Gro-tius, 89.



enemy, the Council gave orders, that in future vessels should not attempt the passage, unless they amounted to a particular number ; and the result unfortunately was, that almost all remained behind, because the stipulated number could not at one time be collected. Some attempts were also made by the garrison of Antwerp on the Spanish ships with tolerable success ; some vessels were taken, others sunk, and it was proposed to attempt an experiment on a greater scale. But anxiously as St Aldegonde laboured to effect this project, he could not procure a single sailor to man his vessel. \*

Amidst these delays, the winter passed over ; and scarcely had the ice disappeared, when the besiegers resumed, with the utmost earnestness, the erection of the bridge of vessels. The opening of six hundred paces, which still remained between the two staccades, was to be filled up in the following manner:—Two-and-thirty flat-bottomed vessels, each sixty feet long, and twenty broad, were fastened to each other at the bow and the stern by strong cables and iron chains, but in such a manner as to stand about twenty feet separate from each other, and to leave a free passage for the stream. Each vessel was also secured by two anchors, placed both up and down the river, the cables of which could be loosed or tightened as the tide rose or fell. Upon the ships large beams were laid, which reached from one to the other ; and being covered with planks, formed a regular road like that along the staccades, protected by a balustrade. This bridge of vessels, of which the staccades formed the continuation, ex-

\* Strad. 561 ; Meteren ,484 ; Reidan. Ann. 69.

tended (including these) to the length of 2400 paces. So admirably, too, was this tremendous machine constructed, and so abundantly provided with the materials of destruction, that it seemed almost capable of defending itself like a living being, of obeying the word of command, and scattering death among all who should approach it. Besides the two forts of Santa Maria and St Philip on each bank of the river, and the wooden batteries on the bridge itself, which were filled with soldiers, and mounted with cannon on every side, each of the thirty-two vessels was manned with thirty soldiers and four sailors, and presented the aspect of the cannon's mouth to the enemy, whether he sailed upwards from Zealand, or downwards from Antwerp. It was defended on the whole by ninety-seven cannon, some placed above, and some under the bridge, and by more than 1500 men, distributed partly among the batteries, and partly among the ships, who, if necessary, could direct a tremendous fire against the enemy. Still, however, the Prince was not satisfied that his work was secured by these precautions against every accident. It was to be expected that the enemy would leave nothing undone to destroy, by the power of their engines, the central and weaker part of the bridge; and to ward off this danger, he erected along the bridge, and at some distance from it, another extensive work, in order to dissipate and weaken the assaults which might be directed against the bridge itself. It consisted of thirty-three vessels of considerable size, arranged in a circle across the whole course of the river, and fastened to each other, three and three, with large masts, so that they formed eleven separate groups. Each

was armed like a troop of pikemen, with fourteen long wooden poles, presenting an iron point to the approaching enemy. These barks were loaded merely with ballast, and were fastened by a double anchor, slackened so as to adapt itself to the changes of the tide. They were in constant motion, and hence were called *the swimmers*. The whole of the bridge of vessels, and part of the staccades, were protected by these swimmers, which were placed both above and below the bridge. To all these defensive preparations was added a squadron of forty King's vessels, which were stationed on both sides, and served to cover the whole. †

This astonishing work was finished in March 1585, in the seventh month of the siege, and the day of its completion was a jubilee for the troops. A wild *feu-de-joie* announced the event to the besieged, and the army, as if they wished to assure themselves of the triumph, spread themselves out along their whole work, to see the haughty stream over which they had laid their yoke, roll submissive and obedient below. All the toils they had endured were forgotten in this animating prospect; and the most insignificant workman, whose hand had been employed in the work, appropriated to himself some portion of the honour which the successful execution of this gigantic enterprise conferred on its illustrious projector. On the other hand nothing could equal the consternation of the citizens of Antwerp, when the news reached them that the passage of the

† Strad. Dec. 2, Lib. VI. 566, 567.—Meteren, 482.—Thuan. 3, Lib. 83, 45.—Gen. Hist. of the United Netherlands, 3. 497.

Schelde was now entirely blocked up, and all hope of succours from Zealand at an end. To increase their terror they received, at the same moment, the intelligence of the fall of Brussels, which had at last been compelled by famine to surrender. An attempt made by Count Hohenlohe, at the same time, to recover Herzogenbusch, or to effect a diversion of the enemy, was equally unsuccessful; and thus the unfortunate city lost, at one time, all hope of future succours either by sea or land. †

These news were brought by some fugitives, who had succeeded in penetrating by the Spanish outposts into the town; and a spy whom the burgomaster had sent out to reconnoitre the enemy's works, increased the universal consternation by his report. He had been taken and brought before the Prince of Parma, who gave orders that he should be conducted over them all, and that the bridge, and its wonderful accompaniments, should be particularly pointed out to him. After he had seen every thing, and was reconducted to the general, he sent him back to Antwerp with this message, "Go and relate to those that sent you what you have seen. Tell them also, that it is my firm resolution either to bury myself beneath the ruins of this bridge, or by means of this bridge to pass into your city."

The certainty of their danger now awakened the activity of the confederates, and it was no fault of theirs, if the first part of the Prince's vow was not fulfilled. He had long beheld with anxiety the preparations which had been made in

† Strad. 567. 571.—Meteren. 492. 494.—Thuan. iii 44. 45.

Zealand for the relief of the town. He saw clearly that it was from that quarter that he had most to apprehend, and that, with all his works, he would scarcely be able to make head against the united power of the fleets of Zealand and Antwerp, if they should attack him at the same time, and at the proper moment. For a time, the delays of the Admiral of Zealand, which he had laboured by every means in his power to prolong, had been his security; but now the pressing necessity of relief expedited their preparations; and, without waiting for the Admiral, the States despatched Count Justin Von Nassau, with as many vessels as they could collect, to the assistance of the besieged. This fleet anchored before Fort Liefkenshoek, which was in possession of the enemy; and, supported by some ships from the opposite Fort of Lillo, battered it so successfully, that the walls were shortly overthrown, and the fort taken by storm. The Walloons, who formed the garrison, displayed little of that firmness which might have been expected from the soldiers of the Prince of Parma: they shamefully abandoned the fortress to the enemy, who were soon in possession of the whole island of Doel, with the forts and batteries it contained. The loss of these places, (which, however, were soon retaken,) affected the Prince of Parma so deeply, that he tried the officers by a Court Martial, and the more guilty among them were beheaded. In the meantime, this bold acquisition opened to the Zealanders a free passage to the bridge; and after concerting with the inhabitants of Antwerp, the period for attempting a decisive attack upon the bridge was

fixed. \* It was determined, that while the Antwerp-ers should endeavour to blow up the bridge, by machines which they had already prepared, the Zealand fleet, with a sufficient stock of provisions, should be at hand, and ready to sail towards the town, through the opening made by the explosion.

For, while the Prince of Parma was engaged in the erection of his bridge, an engineer, within the walls of Antwerp, was already preparing materials for its destruction. Frederick Gianibelli was the name of the man whom Fate had destined to be the Archimedes of the city, and to exert in its defence the same ingenuity, with the same want of success. He was born in Mantua, and had visited Madrid, for the purpose, as was reported, of offering his services to Philip in the war of the Netherlands. But, wearied with expectation, the offended artist left the Court, with the determination of convincing the Spanish monarch, in the most effectual manner, of the value of those services which he had so little known how to estimate. He had recourse to Elizabeth, Queen of England, the declared enemy of Spain, who, after witnessing some proofs of his art, despatched him to Antwerp. In this city he took up his abode, and in the present extremity devoted to its defence all his skill, his energy, and his zeal. †

As soon as he learned that the project of erecting the bridge was seriously contemplated, and that the work was approaching its completion, he requested of the magistrates two large vessels,

\* Strad. 573. 574. Meteren, 495.

† Meteren, 495.—Strad. 574.

from one hundred and fifty to five hundred tons burden, in which he proposed to lay mines. He also demanded fifty boats, which, being fastened together with chains and cables, and armed with axes, might be put in motion with the ebbing of the tide ; and, in order to complete the destruction which the fire-ships had begun, might be directed in a wedge-like form against the bridge. But he had to deal with men who were completely incapable of comprehending an idea of an extraordinary nature, and who, even where the safety of their country was at stake, could never forget the calculating habits of commerce. His plan was found too expensive ; and it was with difficulty, at last, that two smaller vessels, of seventy or eighty tons, and a quantity of boats, were allowed him.

With these two vessels, one of which he called the *Fortune*, the other the *Hope*, he proceeded thus :—He erected within the hold a hollow chamber of free-stone, five feet in breadth, four and a half in height, and forty in length. This chamber was filled with sixty hundred weight of the finest gunpowder of his own invention, and covered with large slabs and millstones, as heavily as the vessel would bear. Above these was erected a building of similar stones, which converged towards a point, and rose six feet above the deck of the vessel. The building was filled with iron chains and hatchets, metal and stone bullets, nails, knives, and other instruments of destruction ; while the other parts of the vessels, which were not occupied by the powder chamber, were also filled with stones, and the whole covered with planks. Several openings were left in the chamber, for the



admission of the trains by which it was to be kindled. A piece of machinery was also placed in the chambers, which, after a certain period, struck out sparks, so as to explode the vessels, supposing the trains to give way. To mislead the enemy into the belief that these machines were intended only to set the bridge on fire, a firework was fixed upon the top, formed of sulphur and pitch, and constructed so as to burn for an hour. Still farther, to distract the attention of the enemy from the real seat of danger, he prepared thirty-two schuyts, (or small flat-bottomed boats), containing merely fireworks, and constructed with no other intention than that of deceiving the enemy. These fire-ships were to be despatched towards the bridge in four separate squadrons, at the distance of half an hour from each other, and to keep the enemy engaged for two whole hours; so that, exhausted by firing and fruitless expectation, they might be induced to relax their vigilance, when the real fire-ships arrived. He prepared also some other ships, in which powder was concealed, to destroy the floating-work before the bridge, and to make way for the larger vessels. By this skirmish of the outposts, he hoped to engage the enemy's attention in that direction,—to allure them forward, and thus to expose them to the full and deadly operation of his mines. †

The night betwixt the fourth and fifth of April was fixed on for the execution of this great undertaking. Some dark rumours of the intended attempt had spread through the Spanish camp, particularly after several divers from Antwerp

† Thuan. iii. 46.—Strad. 574, 575.—Meteren, 596.

had been discovered endeavouring to cut the cables of the vessels. A serious attack, therefore, was expected; they were mistaken only as to its nature, expecting to combat with men, rather than with the elements. With this view the prince caused the guards along the whole bank to be doubled, and moved the greater part of his troops to the neighbourhood of the bridge, where he himself took his station,—thus exposing himself the more to danger, the more he laboured to avert it. Scarcely was it dark when three flaming vessels were seen floating downwards from the town, then three others, and afterwards three more. The whole Spanish camp were called to arms, and the bridge, along its whole length, crowded with soldiers. Meantime the number of the fire-ships increased, as they floated, sometimes in pairs, sometimes three together down the stream, being at first guided by mariners on board. But the Admiral of the Antwerp fleet, Jacob Jacobson, had either purposely, or from negligence, so arranged matters, that the four squadrons were allowed to follow each other at too short intervals, while the two large fire-ships followed too fast upon the rest, and thus the whole order of the attack was destroyed.

The moment approached, and the darkness of the night heightened the effect of the extraordinary scene. As far as the eye could follow the course of the stream, all was fire, the fire-ships burning as fiercely as if the vessels themselves had been actually in flames. All around the surface of the river shone in light,—the dykes and batteries along the bank, the colours, weapons, and armour of the soldiers, who lined the river-

side, as well as the bridge, were clearly distinguishable by its glare. With mingled feelings of pleasure and of terror, the soldiers contemplated this strange spectacle, which seemed at first rather to resemble some triumphant fete, than a hostile preparation, but which filled the mind with a strange and indescribable fear, by the contrast between its outward appearance and its real purpose. When this burning fleet approached within about two thousand paces of the bridge, the workmen kindled their matches, impelled the two larger vessels, containing the mines, into the very middle of the stream, and, abandoning the rest to the guidance of the waves, moved off as rapidly as possible, in boats which had been prepared for the purpose.†

Their course, however, was broken; the vessels, unguided by any one on board, drove, scattered or single, against the floating work, where they continued hanging, or dashed sideways against the bank. The foremost powder-ship, which had been intended to destroy the floating work, were driven, by the force of a tempest, which sprang up at that moment, towards the Flanders side; and even the great fire-ship, named the *Fortune*, struck the ground before reaching the bridge, killing, in its explosion, several Spanish soldiers in the neighbouring battery. The other, and the larger vessel, named the *Hope*, narrowly escaped a similar fate. The current drove her against the floating work on the Flanders side, where she remained hanging; and had

† Strad. 576.

she taken fire at that moment, the effect of the explosion would have been almost entirely lost. But, deceived by the flames which this machine threw out, like the other fire-ships, the enemy conceived it to be merely an ordinary vessel, intended for the purpose of firing the bridge. And as they had seen the other fire-ships extinguished, one after the other, without any farther effect, they forgot their fears, and began to ridicule those hostile preparations which had been announced with so much pomp, and which had come to so pitiful a conclusion. Some of the boldest had thrown themselves into the stream, to inspect the fire-ship more narrowly, and to extinguish it, when it suddenly broke by its weight through the floating work which had repelled it, and drove with terrible force against the bridge. All was instantly in commotion, and the Duke called out to the sailors to keep off the machine with poles, and to extinguish the flames ere they should reach the timbers.

He was standing at that important moment at the farther end of the scaffolding, on the left, where it formed a bastion in the water, and was united to the bridge of ships. By his side stood the Margrave of Rysburg, General of the cavalry, and Governor of the province of Artois, (who had formerly been in the service of the States, but, from a defender of the Republic, had now become her worst enemy), Baron Von Billy, Governor of Friezland, and General of the German regiments, Generals Cajetan and Guasto, with several of his principal officers,—all forgetful of their own danger, and anxious only to avert the general misfortune. At this moment a Spanish ensign approach-

ed the Prince of Parma, and conjured him to retire from a spot where his life was in imminent and visible danger. He repeated his request more pressingly, as the Duke paid no attention, and at last, falling at his feet, implored him, in this single instance, to be advised by his servants. While he spoke, he had seized the Duke by the cloak, as if to draw him from the place by force; and he, rather overpowered by the boldness of this man, than convinced by his reasons, began to move, accompanied by Guasto and Cajetan, towards the shore. Scarcely had he time to reach Fort St Maria, at the farther end of the bridge, when an explosion was heard behind him, as if the earth had burst, or the vault of heaven had given way. The Duke, with his whole army fell to the ground as dead, and several minutes elapsed before any one recovered his recollection.

But what a scene appeared when recollection returned! The waters of the Schelde had been divided by the explosion to their lowest depths, and driven like a wall over the mound which opposed them, so that all the fortifications along the bank were inundated to the depth of several feet. The earth shook for three miles round. Nearly the whole of the left scaffolding, against which the fire-ship had been driven, with part of the bridge of ships, had been burst asunder, shattered, and with all who were upon it, masts, cannon, and men, hurled into the air. Even the enormous blocks of stone, which covered the mines, had been blown by the force of the explosion, into the neighbouring fields, so that many of them were afterwards dug up at the distance of a thousand paces from the bridge. Six ships were burned, and

several dashed to pieces. But still more dreadful was the carnage which this murderous engine had made among the soldiers. Five hundred, or, according to some accounts, eight hundred men, fell a sacrifice to the explosion, besides those who escaped with mutilated or injured limbs. The most opposite modes of death were united in that tremendous moment. Some were consumed by the flame of the volcano, others suffocated by the waters of the river, or the poisonous sulphurous vapour; some drowned in the stream; some buried beneath the hail of the falling masses of rock; some pierced with the knives or axes, or shattered with the balls which had sprung from the bowels of the engine: some, who were found dead without any visible injury, must have been killed by the mere agitation of the air. The sight, immediately after the explosion of the mine, was tremendous. Some were seen sticking among the pillars of the bridge, some labouring beneath the masses of stone, some hanging in the sails of the vessels; on every side was heard a heart-piercing cry for help, but every one was too deeply engaged with his own safety, and the call was answered only by an impotent wailing.

Many of the survivors were saved by wonderful accidents. An officer, named Tucci, was lifted like a feather into the air by the whirlwind, suspended for some time aloft, and then dropped into the stream, where he saved himself by swimming. Another was caught up, by the force of the explosion, on the Flanders side, and deposited on that of Brabant, where he rose with merely a slight contusion on the shoulder, and who afterwards described his progress through the air as resembling

that of a body shot from a cannon. The Duke of Parma had never been so near death as at that moment, when the difference of half a minute decided his fate. Scarce had he set foot in Fort St Maria, when he was lifted as by a whirlwind, and struck senseless to the ground by a plank which lighted on his head and shoulder. For some time, indeed, it was believed he had been killed, as several recollected having seen him on the bridge but a few minutes before the deadly explosion. He was found, at last, raising himself up with his hand on his sword, between his conductors, Cajetan and Guasto, and the intelligence restored life to the whole army. But it were vain to attempt to describe his sensations, when he contemplated the wreck which a single moment had caused in the work of so many months. The bridge on which his whole hope rested was torn in pieces, great part of his army destroyed, others maimed and rendered useless for a time ; several of his best officers killed, and, as if the present misfortune were not enough, he received at the same moment the painful intelligence that the Marquis of Rysburg, in whom, of all his officers, he reposed the greatest confidence, was no where to be found. The worst still remained behind, namely, that the arrival of the hostile fleets of Antwerp and Lillo was every instant to be expected, while the disabled situation of the army would render it impossible for him to make any resistance. The bridge had been completely separated, and there was nothing to prevent the fleet of Zealand from sailing through : while the confusion of the troops was at the time so great, that it was impossible to issue orders, or to obey them ;



some of the corps wanting their officers, many of the officers unable to find their corps, or to discover the place which they had occupied, amidst the universal ruin. All the fortifications, too, on the bank were inundated,—the cannon sunk under water,—and the matches and powder rendered useless. What a moment for the enemy, had they known how to avail themselves of the opportunity! †

It will scarcely be believed, however, that this attempt, which had succeeded so much beyond expectation, was rendered useless to Antwerp, merely—because it was unknown. As soon as the explosion of the mine was heard in the town, St Aklegonde had indeed sent out several vessels towards the bridge, with orders to shoot up fire-balls and burning arrows as soon as they had successfully passed through, and then, with this intelligence, to sail on to Lillo, to put the auxiliary fleet of Zealand into immediate motion. The Admiral of Antwerp, at the same time, received orders, as soon as the signal was given, to set sail instantly and attack the enemy in their first confusion. But although a tempting reward was offered to the sailors who were sent out, they could not be persuaded to venture into the neighbourhood of the enemy, and they returned, without effecting their purpose, with the intelligence, that the bridge remained uninjured, and that the fire-ships had produced no impression. Even the next day no better attempt was made to learn the true state of the bridge; and when they saw that, notwithstanding the favourable wind, no attempt was

† Strada, 577, *seq.*—Meteren, 497—Thuan, III. 47—Gen. Hist. of U. N. 3, 497.

made by the fleet at Lillo, they were confirmed in the belief that the fire-ships had failed. No one reflected that this inactivity of the confederates, which misled the inhabitants of Antwerp, might also keep back the Zealanders at Lillo, as was really the case. So signal a failure could occur only in a government without authority, and without independence, guided by a tumultuous population, whom it ought to have commanded. The more inactive, however, they showed themselves against the enemy, the more their rage seemed inflamed against Gianibelli, whom the enraged populace would willingly have torn to pieces. The engineer was for two days in the most imminent danger, till, on the third morning, a messenger from Lillo, who had swam through under the bridge, brought accounts of the real destruction which had taken place, but at the same time of its complete restoration. ‡

This rapid repairing of the bridge was really a miraculous effort of the Prince of Parma. Scarcely had he recovered from the shock, which seemed to have ruined all his plans, when he foresaw, with admirable presence of mind, all the evil consequences which might ensue. The absence of the hostile fleet at this decisive moment awakened his hopes anew. The wretched condition of the bridge seemed still to be a secret to the enemy; and although it was impossible that the work of many months could be restored in a few hours, much would be gained if he could give to it an appearance of being repaired. All were instantly at work to remove the fragments, to erect

‡ Meteren, 196.

anew the timbers which had been overthrown, to unite those which had been fractured, and to fill up the gaps with ships. The Duke himself assisted in the labour, and his example was followed by all the officers. The common soldiers, animated by the sight, exerted themselves to the utmost; the work was carried on during the whole night amidst the continual noise of trumpets and drums, which were stationed along the whole bridge, to drown the sound of the workmen. At break of day, few traces of the destruction which had taken place during the night were to be seen; and although the bridge was only apparently repaired, its appearance deceived the messengers, and the attack was put off. In the meantime, the Prince contrived to render the repair real, and also to introduce some changes into the structure of the bridge. To protect it from future attacks of a similar kind, a part of the bridge of ships was made moveable, so that it might be removed if necessary, and a free passage opened to the fire-ships. The loss of men which he had sustained, the Prince supplied by means of garrisons from the neighbouring places, and of a German regiment which fortunately joined him at this moment from Ghent. He filled up the places of the officers who were missing, and among these the Spanish ensign, who had saved his life, was not forgotten.\*

The inhabitants of Antwerp, on learning the real success of their fire-ships, now applauded their inventor as zealously as they had formerly been inclined to treat him with harshness, and urged him to new attempts. Gianibelli now received the num-

\* Strada, 581, *et. seq.*

ber of vessels which he had in vain requested at first. He prepared them in such a manner as to be driven with irresistible force against the bridge; and the bridge was actually a second time broken through. The wind, however, was then unfavourable to the Zealand fleet, so that it could not advance, and thus the Prince again had time to repair the disaster. Still the Archimedes of Antwerp was not disconcerted by all these failures. He prepared two large vessels, armed with iron hatchets, and similar instruments, in order to break through the bridge by force. But when the moment for launching them came, no one could be found to man them. The engineer was therefore obliged to invent some means of giving to his engines such a direction, as to enable them, without a steersman, to keep the middle of the stream, and not, like the former, to be dashed by the wind against the bank. One of his workmen, a German, hit upon a singular invention; † he placed a sail under the vessel, so as to be acted upon by the water, as ordinary sails are by the wind, and in such a manner as that the ship should be impelled along by the whole force of the stream. The consequence shewed that his calculation was correct, for the vessel, with her sails thus reversed, not only kept exactly the centre of the current, but drove against the bridge with such impetuosity, that the enemy had no time to open it, and it was actually driven asunder. All these successful attempts, however, were unavailing, being under-

† Dec. II. B. VI. 586.

taken at random, and followed up by no sufficient force. No use was made of another fire-ship, which Gianibelli had prepared after the manner of the first, which had proved so successful, and which he had filled with four thousand pounds weight of powder; for a new mode of attempting their deliverance had now occurred to the inhabitants of Antwerp.\*

Despairing, after so many failures, of being able to open up by force the passage of the river to the fleet, they determined to dispense, if possible, with the river entirely. They remembered the example of the city of Leyden, which, when besieged by the Spainards ten years before, had been saved by a well-managed inundation of the surrounding country, and this example they resolved to imitate. Between Lillo and Stabroek, in the territory of Bergen, a broad and somewhat sloping plain stretches to Antwerp, only protected by numerous dykes and counter-dykes from the irruption of the waters of the Easter Schelde. Nothing more was necessary than to open these dykes, to lay the whole plain under water, and to open a passage for flat-bottomed boats to the very walls of Antwerp. If this attempt should be successful, they might allow the Prince of Parma to interrupt, as he pleased, the passage of the Schelde with his bridge of ships; they had now created a stream for themselves, which, in the hour of need, would supply the place of the former. This, indeed, was the very plan which the Prince of Orange had recommended in the beginning of the siege, and which St Aldegonde had laboured so

\* Metczen, 197.

strenuously to carry into effect, but which had failed, because some of the citizens could not be prevailed upon to sacrifice their property. They now reverted to this last means of deliverance in the present necessity, but circumstances, in the meantime, had materially changed.

The plain is divided by a broad and lofty dyke, which takes its name from the neighbouring castle of Couvenstein, and stretches from the village of Stabroek in Bergen for three miles towards the Schelde, till it joins the great dyke of the Schelde not far from Ordani. Over this dyke it was impossible for ships to pass, even at the highest tide, and it would be in vain, while it stood in the way, to inundate the fields on each side, since it would effectually oppose the passage of the Zealand fleet to the vicinity of Antwerp. The fate of the town therefore depended on the possibility of breaking down part of the dyke; but the Prince of Parma had foreseen this possibility, had taken possession of it at the commencement of the blockade, and spared no means in preparing to maintain it to the utmost. Near the village of Stabroek, Count Mansfeld was encamped with the greater part of the army, and maintained, by means of the counterdyke of Couvenstein, his communication with the bridge, the head-quarters, and the Spanish magazines at Calloo. The army thus formed a continuous line from Stabroek in Brabant to Bevern in Flanders, divided, indeed, but not broken by the Schelde, and which could only be broken by a bloody engagement. Five different batteries had been erected along the dyke at equal distances, and the command of them intrusted to the bravest officers of the army; and, as the Duke of Parma

could not doubt that the whole weight of the war would now be directed hither, he assigned to Count Mansfeld the protection of the bridge, and resolved to defend this important post in person. A new scene of war was now about to take place, and on a totally different theatre. \*

The Netherlanders had pierced the great dyke which follows the Brabant side of the Schelde, at different places above and below Lillo, and where green fields had formerly been seen, a new element was now displayed, studded with masts and vessels. A Zealand fleet, under Count Hohenlohe, sailed into the inundated fields, and made repeated movements against the dyke of Couvenstein, without attempting a serious attack; while another appeared in the Schelde, threatening sometimes one side, sometimes the other, with a landing, or seemingly meditating an attack upon the bridge. The enemy were thus kept in play for several days, and, uncertain where the real attempt was to be made, were exhausted by their prolonged vigilance, and lulled by degrees into security. The inhabitants of Antwerp had promised to Count Hohenlohe to support the attack upon the dyke with a flotilla from the town; three fireworks from the principal tower were to be the signal that the flotilla was on its way. As soon as the expected signals rose over Antwerp, through the darkness of the night, Count Hohenlohe landed five hundred of his troops between two of the enemy's redoubts, who, falling suddenly on the Spanish guards, either surprised them asleep, or overpowered them. In a short time they had ob-

\* Strad. 582.—Thuan. III. 48.



trained a firm footing upon the dyke, and were already intending to land the rest, to the number of two thousand, when the Spaniards arrived from the next redoubt, and, assisted by the narrowness of the ground, made a desperate attack upon the crowded Zealanders. The cannon from the neighbouring batteries at the same time opened upon the advancing vessels, so as to render the landing of the remaining troops impossible; and as no prospect of assistance from the town appeared, the Zealanders, after a short conflict, were overpowered, and driven down from the dyke of which they were in possession. The victorious Spaniards hunted them through the water as far as the ships, drowned many of them, and compelled them to retire with great loss. Count Hohenlohe laid the blame of this defeat upon the inhabitants of Antwerp, who had deceived him by a false signal, and, in fact, it was entirely owing to the want of co-operation in their respective plans that this attempt was unsuccessful.\*

It was at last resolved to make a concerted attempt with their united forces upon the enemy, and by a desperate attack, both on the dyke and the bridge, to put an end to the blockade at once. The 16th of May 1585 was fixed on for carrying the attempt into execution, and every thing was done on both sides to render its results decisive. The force of the Hollanders and Zealanders, united to that of Antwerp, exceeded two hundred ships, to man which, they had stripped the town

\* Sarad. 583.—Materen. 498.

and citadel, and with this force they determined to assault the dyke of Couvenstein on both sides. The bridge was at the same time to be attacked by new engines of Gianibelli's invention, and the Duke of Parma thus prevented from assisting the defenders of the dyke.†

Alexander, informed of the danger that threatened him, spared nothing on his side to meet it with energy. Immediately after the capture of the dyke, he had ordered redoubts to be built upon it, at five different places, and given the command of these to the most experienced officers of his army. The first, named the Cross Battery, was erected at the place where the dyke of Couvenstein sinks into the great wall of the Schelde, and forms with it the figure of a cross; and the defence of this fort was intrusted to the Spanish General Mondragone. A thousand paces farther on, and in the neighbourhood of the Castle of Couvenstein, was placed Fort St Jacob, commanded by Camillo di Monte. At an equal distance from this, lay Fort St George, and a thousand paces farther the Pile Battery, under the command of Gamboa, so called from the piles on which it was erected. At the farthest end of the dyke, not far from Stabroek, lay a fifth battery, of which Count Mansfeld and an Italian named Capizucchi, were commanders. All these forts the Prince had lately strengthened with artillery and men, besides erecting piles on both sides of the dyke, and along its whole length, both to give stability to the wall itself,

† Strada 584.—Metern, 498.

and to render more laborious the efforts of the pioneers to cut it through.\*

Early on the morning of the 16th of May the whole force was in motion. With break of day four fire-ships advanced from Lillo along the inundation, which so terrified the sentinels upon the dyke, who recollected the terrible consequences of the former explosion, that they hastened to take refuge in the neighbouring fort. This was exactly what the enemy had calculated upon. Within these vessels, which appeared to be fire-ships, but which in reality were not so, soldiers were concealed, who immediately landed, and succeeded in mounting the dyke, at the undefended spot between Fort St George and the Pile Battery. Immediately after, appeared the Zealand fleet with numerous ships of war, provision-ships, and a crowd of smaller boats, loaded with large sacks of earth, wool, fascines, and gabions, to erect breast-works where they might be necessary. The ships of war were furnished with a strong train of artillery, and numerous and brave crews, accompanied by a whole army of pioneers, to break down the dyke as soon as it should be in their possession.†

Scarcely had the Zealanders begun to mount the dyke on one side, when the fleet of Antwerp approached from Osterveel and attacked it on the other. A high breast-work was speedily erected between the two nearest of the enemy's redoubts, so as to separate them from each other, and at the same time to protect the pioneers. These, to the number of more than five hundred,

\* Strad. 582, 584.

† Strad. 587.—Meteren, 498.—Thuar, 3 18.

immediately commenced their operations on the dyke with their spades, and laboured so assiduously, that hopes were entertained that the two seas would very shortly be united. In the meantime, however, the Spaniards had advanced from the neighbouring batteries, and commenced a bold attack upon the Netherlanders, while the cannon of Fort St George played without obstruction upon their fleet. The Zealanders had drawn a strong line around their pioneers, to prevent the enemy from interrupting their operations ; and amidst the alarm of battle, exposed to a shower of bullets, often up to the breast in water, among the dying and the dead, the pioneers continued their labour, urged to the utmost exertion by the merchants, who waited with impatience to see the dyke opened, and their ships in safety. The importance of the result, which depended, perhaps entirely, on their exertions, seemed itself to inspire these common labourers with heroic courage. Attending only to the labour of their hands, they neither heard nor saw the death that surrounded them ; and still, as the foremost ranks fell, those behind pressed forward to supply their place. Their operations were much impeded by the piles which had been driven along the dyke, but still more by the attack of the Spaniards, who burst with desperate courage through the enemy, stabbing the pioneers in their excavations where they stood, and closing with their dead bodies the breaches which had been made by the living. But at last, most of their officers being either killed or wounded, the number of the enemy still increasing, and fresh pioneers advancing to supply the place of those who had fallen, the courage of these brave

troops began to give way, and they deemed it advisable to retreat to their batteries. The Zealanders and Antwerpers now saw themselves masters of the whole of that part of the dyke which lies between Fort St George and the Pile Battery. As it would, however, have occupied too much time to wait till the dyke was completely broken through, a Zealand vessel was rapidly unloaded, and its cargo transported into one of the Antwerp vessels with which Count Hohenlohe immediately sailed in triumph to Antwerp. The sight of the provisions filled the anxious city with the most flattering hopes, and as if the victory had been already complete, they gave themselves up immediately to boisterous rejoicing. The bells were rung, the cannon fired, and the inhabitants, transported with their unexpected success, hurried to the Osterweel gate, to greet the arrival of the provision-ships, which were thought to be at hand. \*

In truth, the fortune of the besieged had never appeared so favourable as at that moment. The enemy, discouraged and exhausted, had thrown themselves into their batteries, and, far from being able to dispute with the conquerors the possession of the captured forts, they saw themselves besieged even in their places of refuge. Some companies of Scots, under the command of their brave Colonel, Balfour, attacked the battery of Fort St George, which had been reinforced by Camillo di Monte, who, not without great loss, had advanced to its assistance from St Jacob. The Pile Battery was in a still worse condition, being strongly attacked by the ships, and threatening every moment

\* Strad. 589.—Meteren, 498.

to fall in pieces. Gamboa, who commanded, lay wounded within, and artillery was unfortunately wanting to keep at a distance the hostile fleet. The wall, too, which the Zealanders had erected between it and Fort St George, cut off all prospect of assistance from the Schelde. Had the enemy taken advantage of this exhaustion and inactivity on the part of the Spaniards to proceed with activity and steadiness in the demolition of the dyke, there can be no doubt that they would have succeeded in opening a passage, and thus put an end to the whole blockade; but the same inattention to consequences was visible here which had marked the conduct of the Antwerpens during the whole progress of the siege.

The activity with which they had commenced their labours seemed to decline in proportion as their success appeared more decided. They soon began to find it too laborious and tedious a matter to demolish the dyke; and it was deemed more advisable to place the cargoes of the large ships in smaller vessels, which might be despatched towards the town with the rising tide. St Aldegonde and Hohenlohe, instead of remaining to animate the workmen by their personal presence, left the scene of action at the decisive moment, to sail with a provision ship to the city, there to receive from their countrymen the favours which they thought were due to their wisdom and bravery. \*

While this hard-fought contest had taken place on both sides of the dyke, the bridge upon the Schelde had been attacked with new machines

from Antwerp, in order to give employment to the vigilance of the Prince in that quarter. But the sound of the firing from the dyke soon apprised him of what was going on there, and he hastened, as soon as he saw the bridge in safety, to reinforce the troops upon the dyke. Accompanied by two hundred Spanish pikemen, he flew to the place of attack, and appeared upon the scene just in time to save his troops from total destruction. He rapidly placed some cannon he had brought with him in the two nearest batteries, and from thence commenced a vigorous fire upon the enemy's ships. He placed himself at the head of his troops, and with his sword in one hand, and a shield in the other, led them against the foe. The news of his arrival, which soon spread from one end of the dyke to the other, reanimated the drooping spirits of his troops, and the contest, which the nature of the field of battle rendered more murderous, was resumed with new energy. Upon the narrow top of the dyke, which in many places did not exceed nine paces in breadth, five thousand combatants were engaged; within this narrow space, the power of both parties was concentrated; upon its possession depended the whole fate of the blockade. With the Antwerpers, the last bulwark of their city was at stake—with the Spaniards, the whole issue of their enterprise; and both parties fought with that courage which nothing but desperation can inspire. From both extremities of the dyke the current of war streamed towards the middle, where the Zealanders and Antwerpers had the advantage, and where their whole strength was collected. From Stabroek, the Italians and Spaniards pressed forward, contending



with each other in bravery on this occasion: from the Schelde, the Walloons and Spaniards, with their general at their head. While the former attempted to relieve the Pile-Battery, which was strongly pressed by the enemy both by sea and land, the latter charged with irresistible impetuosity upon the breastwork which they had erected between Fort St George and the Pile-Battery. Here the flower of the Netherlanders fought behind the shelter of a strong wall, and covered by the cannon of both fleets. The Duke was already preparing with his small force to attack this wall, when he received intelligence that the Italians and Spaniards, under Capizucchi and Aguila, had carried the Pile-Battery by storm, and were advancing on the other side against the hostile breastwork. Before this last defence the strength of both armies was now collected, and on both sides every effort was made, either to carry or to defend the position. The Netherlanders leaped ashore from their vessels, that they might not remain idle spectators of the contest. Alexander attacked the breast-work on one side, Count Mansfeld on the other; five assaults were made and repelled. The Netherlanders, in this decisive moment, excelled all their former efforts; never, in the whole course of the war, had they fought with so much firmness. The Scots and English, in particular, by their brave defence, baffled the efforts of the enemy. At last, when none would venture an assault in the quarter where the Scots fought, the Duke threw himself, with a javelin in his hand, into the water, which rose to his breast, to show his troops the example. After a tedious and exhausting conflict, the troops under Mansfeld succeeded, by the

aid of their pikes and halbards, in effecting a breach in the breast-work, while others mounted on the shoulders of their comrades, to gain the top of the wall. Bartholomew Toralva, a Spanish captain, was the first who was seen above the wall; and almost at the same instant, the Italian Capizucchi appeared upon the edge of the breast-work, and thus the contest of bravery was decided with equal honour to both nations. It is worthy of remark, how the Prince of Parma, who had been made the umpire in this contest, humoured this delicacy of feeling, in points of honour, among his troops. He embraced Capizucchi before the eyes of the troops, and publicly admitted, that it was to the bravery of this officer, in particular, that the capture of the breast-work was owing. The Spanish captain, Toralva, who was severely wounded, he ordered to be conveyed to his own quarters at Stabroek, to be placed in his own bed, and covered with the same cloak which he had worn the day before the action. †

After the breast-work was carried, the contest no longer remained doubtful. The troops of Holland and Zealand, who had landed to take a part in the contest, lost courage at once, when they looked around them, and saw the ships, their last place of refuge, retiring from the shore. The flood had now began to ebb, and the leaders of the fleet, afraid of remaining too near the shore with their heavy vessels, and thus, in the event of the unsuccessful issue of the contest, becoming a prey to the enemy, retired from the dyke, and endea-

† Strad. 593.

voured to gain the open sea. No sooner did Alexander perceive this, than he pointed out to his troops the flying ships, and animated them at once to put an end to an enemy who had abandoned himself. The auxiliaries from Holland were the first that gave way, and the Zealanders soon followed their example. They precipitated themselves from the dyke, endeavouring to gain their ships by wading or swimming; but from the disorderly nature of their flight, they impeded each other, and fell in heaps beneath the sword of the victorious pursuers. Even at the ships many of them perished, each endeavouring to get before the other, and several vessels sinking under the weight of those who threw themselves into them. The Antwerpers, who fought for their freedom, their homes, and their religious belief, were the last to give way; but their very perseverance rendered their fate more unfortunate. Many of their ships were overtaken by the ebbing of the flood, and ran aground, so that they lay within the range of the enemy's cannon, and were destroyed, with all their crews. The flying crowds endeavoured, by swimming, to gain the other vessels which had got beyond the reach of the ebb; but such was the rage and boldness of the Spaniards, that they swam after the fugitives with their swords between their teeth, and dragged many of them even from the ships. The victory of the King's troops was complete, though bloody. About eight hundred of the Spaniards, and several thousand of the Netherlanders (not including those who were drowned) remained upon the spot; and upon both sides many of the principal nobility perished. More than thirty ships, with their whole cargoes of pro-

visions intended for Antwerp, with a hundred and fifty cannon, and other warlike stores, fell into the hands of the conquerors. The dyke, the possession of which had been so dearly obtained, was pierced in thirteen different places, and the bodies of its defenders were now employed to fill up the openings. The next day, a vessel of uncommon size, and singular construction, fell into the hands of the King's troops, which formed a sort of floating fortress, and was intended to have been employed against the dyke of Couvenstein. The inhabitants of Antwerp had prepared it at an immense expense, at the very time they rejected the plans of the engineer, Gianibelli, on account of their expensive nature, and had given to this ridiculous and monstrous engine the name of "The End of the War," an appellation which was afterwards exchanged for the more appropriate one of "Money Lost." When this ship was launched, it was found, as had been foreseen by every intelligent person, that it could not be guided, on account of its extravagant size, and scarcely could be floated even by the highest tide. With great difficulty it was brought down as far as Ordam, where it was left aground by the ebbing of the tide, and fell into the hands of the enemy. †

The attack upon the dyke of Couvenstein was the last attempt made for the relief of Antwerp. From this time the courage of the besieged failed them, and the magistracy of the town endeavoured in vain to raise the spirits of the populace, upon whom the present necessity more peculiarly pressed, by distant hopes. Until now, they had

† Thuan, 3. 49—Meteren, 485—Strad. 597.


always obtained bread, though at a dear rate; but by degrees the provisions drew towards a close, and famine visibly approached. They still had hopes of being able to maintain the town long enough to allow them to reap the corn which grew between the outer works and the town, and which was already in full ear; but ere that time arrived, the enemy were in possession of all the external defences of the town, and had appropriated the whole harvest to themselves. At last, the neighbouring confederate town of Mechlin fell into the enemy's hands, and with it vanished their last hope of succour from Brabant. As there was no longer any means of increasing the stock of provisions, the only course left was to diminish the number of the consumers. All persons incapable of assisting, all strangers, and even women and children, must have been banished from the town; but this project was too revolting to humanity to be carried into effect. Another plan, that of driving out the Catholic inhabitants, inflamed them so much, that it almost led to an open mutiny. And thus St Aldegonde saw himself compelled to yield to the stormy impatience of the populace; and on the 17th August, 1585, to make proposals to the Duke of Parma for the surrender of the town. ‡

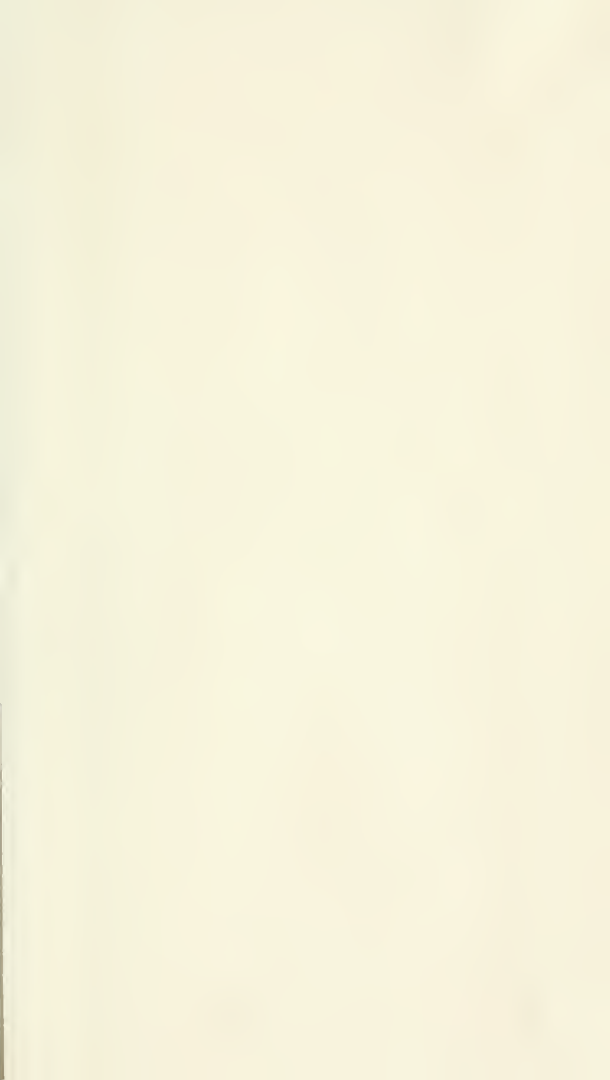
‡ Meteren, 500—Strad. 600, *et seq.*—Thuan, III. 50—Univ. Hist. Unit. Netherlands, 3. 499.

END OF VOLUME SECOND.

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